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VOL. II. 1492-1715

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SELECT DOCUMENTS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

VOL. II. 1492–1715

EDITED BY

W. F. REDDAWAY, M.A.

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

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GENERAL PREFACE

THE editor and publishers of this series have been most fortunate in obtaining the collaboration of Mr. W. F. Reddaway as editor of this volume. The third volume, edited by another distinguished Cambridge historian, will follow shortly.

The number, selection and presentation of the documents are governed by the purpose which the editors have in view. It is hoped that the volumes may be of use in schools and colleges as providing illustrations of outline courses on European history, and as some encouragement to young students to go to the sources of history for themselves. They are not intended to be in any degree substitutes for narrative works or for oral teaching on the historical setting and importance of the events with which the documents are concerned. Consequently the introductions and notes are generally confined to such matter as will explain only the immediate circumstances in which the documents were composed or to a small amount of explanation of proper names, technical terms, etc. Since they deal with the outlines of history, the documents are mainly formal documents concerned with the main events and movements of political history, although some illustrations of social developments and contemporary thought are also given. They are presented in English translations, because I am informed that this is a regrettable necessity of the present time.

R. G. D. LAFFAN

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PREFACE

THE period which the following documents illustrate (1492–1715) comprises roughly the first seven generations of modern times. The times are called 'modern' because the European peoples, within the first of these seven generations, went far towards exchanging the system under which they had lived during the Middle Ages for a new system, in which pope and emperor lost their old supremacy and feudalism gradually disappeared. During the lifetime of Martin Luther (1483–1546) seeds were sown of which the ripening and harvesting have filled 'modern' history. Within that brief space:

(1) Columbus discovered America, thus helping to make the new power of Spain pre-eminent in Europe;

(2) Germany, under Maximilian I, failed to become a strong national state, but the future power of Austria was prepared, largely by way of marriage;

(3) France, the rival of Spain, attempted to conquer Italy, and was thus led on to a struggle with the house of Habsburg which lasted until 1756;

(4) The Turks developed a conquering organization which threatened to enslave great parts of Europe;

(5) Christian unity was shattered by the rise of the Lutheran, Calvinist and other non-Catholic churches;

(6) A powerful movement of Catholic reaction began, with the new Jesuit Order as one of its chief promoters;

(7) In Portugal, France, Spain, England and Sweden the kings gained unprecedented power, for they represented the desire of their peoples to be freed from the tyranny of the nobles. The Italians, Germans and Poles, however, failed to achieve unity under a strong monarchy, and

thereby doomed themselves to sufferings which far outlasted the period covered by this book.

These mighty innovations were followed by a full century (1546–1648) which was constantly inflamed by religious war. The old system in church and state had broken down, and Europe was struggling to find a new one which would enable the nations to enjoy peace both at home and abroad. The treaties of Westphalia (1648) seemed to indicate that, at the price of widespread ruin in Germany, a workable modern organization had been found. The pope and the emperor had plainly lost their old supremacy. Each state was henceforward to manage its own affairs, both religious and political, without interference from outside. The new Dutch republic formed a conspicuous symbol of the new order, and these successful rebels became 'the teachers of Europe in everything'. Their prominence was particularly great in the development of trade with distant lands. Given peace in Europe, her relations with other continents must rapidly increase, and therefore new causes of friction between her peoples were certain to arise.

Peace in Europe, however, was swiftly broken. The strength of France and the ambition of Louis XIV soon challenged the principles on which the settlement of Westphalia was based. When the army of one state became far superior to that which any other could support, and when the king of that state claimed that God had given him such strength for the purpose of exercising sway, other states were compelled to defend their liberties in arms. The danger to some was the greater because Louis restored Catholic unity in France by force and showed signs of desiring to restore it in other lands. The European resistance found a rare champion in William of Orange, but almost a quarter of a century of struggle proved needful before the danger was dispersed. The treaty of Utrecht (1713), for all its imperfections, restored the system of Westphalia. Meanwhile, under Peter the Great, half-barbarous Russia had been preparing to force an entry into European politics, and the decline of the Turkish,

Swedish and Polish powers made it possible for her to do so. Their place as European forces was to some extent being taken by the rising power of Prussia, with an army out of all proportion to its wealth and population. Discord, disillusionment and lack of principle were everywhere conspicuous in Europe when Louis XIV died.

The present collection is designed to illustrate, within the smallest possible compass, some aspects of the biography of Europe, from Columbus to the settlement at Utrecht. Luther at the Wartburg, Philip II and his Armada, Charles X dictating to the Danes, Louis XIV accepting the Spanish succession, Peter of Russia fleeing from Narva—such records remain uncited that others less striking but less familiar may find a place. These extracts are given textually wherever possible, and explanations rigorously restricted, the more so since many may be found in my *General Sketch of Modern European History*. The voluminous treaties which punctuate the record of Louis' aggression have been summarized.

As ' sources ' the classic collections of Messrs. Gardiner, Kidd, Mirbt, Reich, Robinson, Schilling, Tanner and Trevelyan have usually been named, except for documents which they give only in translation. I offer my grateful thanks to the authors or their representatives and to the publishers of these invaluable works, as also to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, the Syndics of the Pitt Press, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., G. P. Putnam's Sons, T. Fisher Unwin (Ernest Benn, Ltd.), Ginn & Co., Swan Sonnenschein & Co. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.), Count Cheddo Miyatovitch, Professor J. H. Robinson, and Mr. Guy Le Strange.

To the Rev. R. G. D. Laffan, general editor of this series, Mr. E. A. Benians, of St. John's College, Cambridge, the Rev. C. H. Smyth, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and to the members of my own family, I am deeply indebted for ungrudging help of many kinds. Mr. T. F. Reddaway, B.A., of King's College, Cambridge, has collaborated throughout the work.

October, 1930

W. F. R.

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SELECT DOCUMENTS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

I

PRE-REFORMATION EUROPE

(*a*) THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY

1. ANDREW BOORDE'S SURVEY, *c.* 1544

Andrew Boorde (Board), Carthusian monk and doctor of physic, has recorded in frank and spirited prose and verse his experience of many countries in the days of Henry VIII. The commonplace character of his outlook makes his survey remarkably interesting and valuable, since it re-creates for us what an intelligent but mundane Englishman found important in early sixteenth-century Europe. The absence of any allusion to Muscovy, or even to Sweden, is no less significant than the evidence of the imperfect consolidation of the great Continental states which the traveller affords. The spelling and a few of the obsolete words have been modernized, as elsewhere except in the extract from More's Utopia.

SOURCE—Boorde, pp. 144–209.

FORASMUCH as the most regal realm of England is situated in an angle of the world, having no region in Christendom nor out of Christendom equivalent to it, the commodities, the quality and the quantity with other and many things considered, . . . all nations espying this realm to be so commodious and pleasant, they have a confluence to it more than to any other region. . . . I did never . . . know more than seven Englishmen dwelling . . . in any region beyond the sea, except merchants, students and brokers . . . resorting thither for a space. In England how many aliens hath and doth dwell of all manner of nations! . . . If a man

would go out of England . . . he should go to Calais, . . . and being oversea at Calais, . . . which doth stand commodiously for the wealth and succour of all England, . . . a man must go through Flanders, . . . a plentiful country of fish and flesh and wildfowl. . . . The people be gentle, but the men be great drinkers. . . . In Flanders there be many fair towns, as Ghent, Bruges and Nieuport. . . . The people will eat the hinder loins of frogs and will eat toadstools. . . . The speech and money differ but little from Low Germany.

Zealand and Holland be proper and fair islands, and there is plenty of barrelled butter . . . cheese and herrings, salmon, eels and little other fish that I did see. . . . Right many of the men . . . will quaff till they be drunk. The women in the church be devout, and useth oft to be confessed in the church openly, laying their heads in the priest's lap. . . . Their language, their money, their manners and fashions is like Flanders, Hainault and Brabant. There [in Brabant] a man may buy all manner of linen cloth and silks and implements for household and plate and precious stones. . . . In Brabant be many fair and goodly towns, the first is Antwerp. . . . The Hainaulters . . . do speak in divers places as well French as Dutch, for it lieth betwixt Brabant, Flanders and France. . . . Cleveland is better than Gelderland, for Gelderland is sandy. . . . The Gelders be hardy men, and use much fighting, war and robbing. . . . Their speech is Low German.

Jülich is a dukedom and Liège an archbishopric, for archbishops in Germany hath great lordships and dominions, yet they, and the aforesaid lands rehearsed from Calais, be under the dominion of the Emperor. . . . The land of Liège is a pleasant country. . . . There is Liège velvet made and cloth of Arras. The speech of Jülich and Liège is Low German. . . .

Low Germany . . . reacheth from the hindmost place of Flanders and Hainault to the city of Mainz.

The chief city is the noble city of Cologne, to the which

cometh the fair water of Rhine, on both sides of the which . . . doth grow the grapes of the which the good Rhenish wine is made of. All Low Germany is a plentiful country of corn and Rhenish wine, and of meat and honest fare, and good lodging. The people be gentle and kind-hearted. The worst fault that they have: many will be drunken. . . . High Germany . . . containeth . . . the most part of Alps, stretching in length to a town called Trent beyond the mountains: half the town is German and half Lombardy. . . . The people of High Germany they be rude and rustic, and very boisterous in their speech and humble in their apparel; yet if some of them can get a foxtail or two . . . or any long feather on his cap, then he is called a Junker. They do feed grossly and they will eat maggots as fast as we will eat comfets. They have a way to breed them in cheese. Snow doth lie on the mountains, winter and summer . . . certain mountains be so high that you shall see the hilltops above the clouds. . . . Denmark is a very poor country . . . yet there doth grow goodly trees . . . and the merchants . . . do sell many masts, oars and bow-staves. The Danes hath been good warriors, but for their poverty I do marvel how they did get once England; they be subtle-witted and they do prowl much about to get a prey. . . . Their speech is German. . . . Out of Denmark a man may go into Saxony . . . a dukedomship. . . . I do marvel greatly how the Saxons should conquer England, for it is but a small country to be compared to England; for I think if all the world were set against England it might never be conquered, they being true within themself. . . . In Saxony is a great river called Weser; and there be salt wells of the water, of the which is made white salt. . . . The people . . . be good warriors. They do not regard the bishop of Rome nor the Romans, for certain abuses. Martin Luther and others . . . in certain things did take sinister opinions, as concerning priests to have wives. . . . In Saxony . . . their speech is German. . . . The Kingdom of Bohemia is compassed about with great high mountains and great thick woods, in the which

woods be many wild beasts. . . . The people . . . be opinionative, standing much in their own conceits. And many of them do err contrary to us in the ministration of the Seven Sacraments. . . . Their speech is German. . . . The Kingdom of Poland is on the north . . . stretching eastward to the Kingdom of Hungary. In Poland be great woods . . . many bees and wild beasts . . . much pitch and tar and flax. There be many good towns. In the country is much poverty and evil fare in certain places. . . . They be peaceable men. . . . Their speech is corrupt German. . . . [The Hungarian sings.]

> I do dwell in the Kingdom of Hungary;
> Betwixt the Turks and me is little mercy;
> And although they be strong, proud and stout
> Other while I rap them on the snout. . . .
> If we of other nations might have any help
> We would make them to flee like a dog or a whelp.

. . . In Hungary there be many aliens of divers nations —for the land doth join to the land of Greece. . . . The Great Turk hath got much. . . . The speech . . . is corrupt Italian, corrupt Greek and Turkish. . . .

Greece is a rich country and a fertile, and plenty of wine, bread and other victuals. The chief city of Greece is called Constantinople. . . . Now the Turk hath it . . . howbeit they be still Christian men . . . and there is . . . a patriarch and . . . the fairest cathedral church in the world . . . they say that there is a thousand priests that doth belong to the church. . . . Saint Luke and Saint John Erisemon lieth there; and they say that there is the holy cross and Jesu Christ's coat that had no seam.

[In Sicily are mosquitoes and great storms. Calabria is a province joined to Italy. Naples a Kingdom joined to Italy with many people but inactive, and medicinal hot wells.] Italy is a noble champaign country. . . . The noble water of Tiber doth make the country rich. The people . . . be homely and rude. . . . Rome . . . is greatly decayed, and St. Peter's church . . . fallen down to the ground, and so hath lain many years. . . . I did see

little virtue in Rome and much abominable vices. . . . Whosoever that hath not seen the noble city of Venice, he hath not seen the beauty and riches of this world. . . . To Venice is a great confluence of merchants, as well Christians as all sorts of infidels. . . . Through the streets of Venice runneth the water, and every merchant hath a fair little barge standing at his stairs. . . . I did ne'er see . . . poverty, but all riches. . . . They have ever in a readiness timber . . . to make a hundred galleys or more [and artillery to guard their many lands and islands]. The Lombards be so crafty that one of them in a country is enough, as I have heard many old and wise men say, to mar a whole country. . . . To the fair and commodious city of Genoa belongeth great possessions. . . . There is made velvet and other silks . . . fustian . . . and treacle. . . . Their speech is Italian and French. . . .

France is a rich country and a pleasant. In France is many goodly towns, as Grenoble, Lyons and Paris . . . Orleans, Poitiers, Toulouse and Montpellier. . . . Beyond France be these great princes, first is Provence and Savoy, Dauphiné and Burgundy, then is the fair provinces of Languedoc and good Aquitaine. . . . The people . . . delight in gorgeous apparel and will have every day a new fashion. They have no great fancy to Englishmen ; they do love singing and dancing and musical instruments, and they be high-minded and stately people. . . .

Catalonia, which is a province, and Aragon, which is a Kingdom, be annexed together. The Emperor . . . hath also the Kingdom of Spain, the Kingdom of Castille, and Biscay, and part of the Kingdom of Navarre. . . . Portugal is a rich angle, specially by the sea side . . . the King . . . a merchant, and doth use merchants. . . . Biscay and Castille is under Spain, these countries be barren of wine and corn and scarce of victuals. . . . When you go to dinner and to supper, you must fetch your bread in one place, and your wine in another place, and your meat in another place, and hogs in many places shall be under your feet at the table and lice in your bed. The

chief cities . . . in Spain is Burgos and Compostella. Many of the people doth go barelegged. The maidens be polled like friars; the women have silver rings on their ears and cupped things standeth upon their head within their kerchiefs. . . . The chief town of Castille is called Toledo. . . . There be many fair and proper castles, plenty of apples and of cider, and there be great watermills to forge iron . . . the best fare is in priests' houses, for they do keep tippling houses. . . . The Kingdom of Navarre is joining to Spain and to France and to Catalonia and to Castille. . . . The people be rude and poor and many thieves. . . . The chief town is Pampeluna. . . . Their speech is Castilian.

[The man of Bayonne, the Gascon and the Breton sing.]

I was born in Bayonne, once English I was;
If I had been so still, I would not greatly pas.
And I was brought up in gentle Gascony;
For my good wine I get money.
And I was born in Little Britain,
Of all nations I hate free Englishmen;
When they be angry, like bees they do swarm.
I beshrew them, they have done me much harm. . . .

Little Britain is a proper and a commodious country of wine, corn, fish, flesh, and the people be high-minded and stubborn. These three countries speaketh French. . . . Normandy is a pleasant and a commodious country in the which be many good cities and towns . . . specially Rouen, Caen, and Sens. . . . In Caen and Sens is good canvas made. . . . Normandy doth pertain to England and so doth all France by right. . . . Picardy is a good country joining to Calais. . . . Naturally they be adversaries to Calais. Boulogne, in my mind, is the best town of Picardy. Boulogne is now ours by conquest of royal King Henry VIII.

2. BARCLAY ON VILLAGE LIFE, *c.* 1500

Broadly speaking, the Europeans of A.D. 1500 *lived in villages, and light upon what they thought and did has special value. 'Barclay has painted for posterity perhaps the most graphic and comprehensive*

picture now preserved of the folly, injustice and iniquity which demoralized England . . . and rendered it ripe for any change, political or religious.' His satire includes a lively description of the pre-Reformation village Sunday and of its football.

SOURCE—Jamieson, I, lxiv.

WHAT man is faultless, remember the village,
How men uplandish on holy days rage.
Nought can them tame, they be a beastly sort,
In sweat and labour having most chief comfort.
On the holy day as soon as morn is past,
When all men resteth, while all the day doth last,
They drink, they banquet, they revel and they jest,
They leap, they dance, despising ease and rest.
If once they hear a bagpipe or a drone,
Anon to the elm or oak they be gone . . .
They rail and they rout, they revel and they cry,
Laughing and leaping, and making cups dry . . .
They get the bladder and blow it great and thin,
With many beans or peasen put within,
It rattleth, soundeth and shineth clear and fair
While it is thrown and cast up in the air,
Each one contendeth and hath a great delight
With foot and with hand the bladder for to smite. . . .
Running and leaping they drive away the cold,
The sturdy ploughmen, lusty, strong and bold,
O'ercometh the winter with driving the football,
Forgetting labour and many a grievous fall.

3. SIR THOMAS MORE ON THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY, *c.* 1515

The following satire on international good faith at the outset of modern times is reproduced in the original form of Ralph Robinson's translation (1556).

SOURCE—*Utopia*, 58–60.

WELL suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beynge presente in hys

owne personne they beate their braynes and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant and of all Burgundie : with divers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others advyse is to appease the puissante power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyveth counsell to make peace with the kynge of Arragone, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedoms of Navarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his five egges, and aduiseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therefore the Skothes muste be hadde in a readiness, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them. And moreouer previlie and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) privelie therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste

cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe juste inherytoure thereof, that by his subtile meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce.

(*b*) PORTUGAL AND THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

4. THE PRE-EMINENCE OF PORTUGAL

*'**To** say that it was Portugal that first rounded the Cape of Good Hope would be a characteristic summary of Portuguese history. The exploit of Vasco da Gama* (1498) *. . . implies the African career that went before and the Indian career that followed it.'* (*Freeman.*)

The following stanzas commemorate also the fact that Portugal found a great poet to sing of the feats of those to whom Europe owes this vast extension of her influence and wealth, while he rightly recalls the missionary motive which largely inspired them. Camoens (1524–80) *wrote, in imitation of Vergil, of a nation whose exploits recalled those of Rome.*

SOURCE—Mickle, p. 1.

(i) THE LUSIAD, *c.* 1555

ARMS and the Heroes, who from Lisbon's shore,
Thro' seas where sail was never spread before,
Beyond where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast,
And waves her woods above the watery waste,
With prowess more than human forc'd their way
To the fair kingdoms of the rising day:
What wars they wag'd, what seas, what dangers past,
What glorious Empire crown'd their toils at last,
Vent'rous I sing, on soaring pinions borne,
And all my Country's wars the song adorn;
What Kings, what Heroes of my native land
Thundered on Asia's and on Afric's strand:
Illustrious shades, who levell'd in the dust
The idol temples and the shrines of lust
And where, erewhile, foul demons were rever'd,
To Holy Faith unnumbered altars rear'd:
Illustrious names, with deathless laurels crown'd,
While time rolls on in every clime renown'd!

Let Fame with wonder name the Greek no more,
What lands he saw, what toils at sea he bore;
No more the Trojan's wandering voyage boast,
What storms he brav'd on many a per'lous coast;
No more let Rome exult in Trajan's name,
Nor eastern conquests Ammon's pride proclaim;
A nobler Hero's deeds demand my lays
Than e'er adorn'd the song of ancient days;
Illustrious GAMA, whom the waves obey'd,
And whose dread sword the fate of Empire sway'd.

(ii) EAST AND WEST IN 1514

The implications of eastern adventure were made evident in 1514, *when Tristan d'Acunha went to Rome to do homage for the new overseas dominions of Portugal. The climax of the ceremonies was reached when the elephant from Goa made three genuflexions before the Holy Father.*

SOURCE—Osorio, II, pp. 143–145.

Towards the end of this year, Emmanuel sent three ambassadors to pope Leo X with presents of great value. Tristan Cugna was the chief of this embassy, and he had two eminent lawyers for his colleagues. . . . By these gentlemen, he sent to his holiness a set of pontifical robes of the richest embroidery, and adorned with the most precious jewels. He added likewise several golden fonts, together with the most costly necklaces, all of exquisite workmanship. He sent also an Indian elephant, of a surprising size; such, I believe, as had not been seen at Rome, when in the height of her grandeur. An animal of such an amazing bulk drew crowds of people from all parts to behold it. There was likewise a very fine panther, which I scarce think could have been equalled by the Roman aediles of old, when they exhibited the public shows of wild beasts. This creature was tame; but had been trained up in such a manner, that it would engage the boars and stags in the forest, and by this means afforded vast sport to those of the nobility who had a fancy for hunting. The panther was placed on a horse, adorned with the richest furniture, and

managed by a Persian huntsman, who had been sent to Emmanuel by the king of Ormus, together with the horse and the panther. Tristan Cugna, as he was a man of high rank and authority, added likewise not a little to the grandeur of the embassy by his own retinue. He carried with him his three sons, and a great many of his relations, together with a numerous train of domesticks; so that he made an appearance not inferior to that of a prince.

* * * * *

The following day, the ambassadors were introduced into a green behind the pope's palace, on mount Vatican, where his holiness waited on them to receive the presents from Emmanuel, which seemed not a little to please his fancy, and raise his admiration. He then went into his garden, to see the elephant and panther. At his holiness's desire, there were some beasts brought before the panther, which, being let loose by the huntsman, attacked and killed them with a most surprising agility. A few days after, the ambassadors laid the particulars of their embassy before the pope, the chief of which was, that the third and tenth parts of the church revenues in Portugal, might be assigned to defray the expenses of the war against the Moors. This request was accordingly granted by his holiness.

5. COLUMBUS AND DISCOVERY

(i) Motives, *c.* 1490

'Of the motives that induced admiral Columbus to believe that there were countries unknown.' c. 1490.

Source—Herrera, Vol. V, p. 592.

The admiral Christopher Columbus had many reasons to persuade him, that there were new lands to be discovered; for being a great cosmographer, and well-skilled in navigation, he considered that the heavens being circular and moving round the earth, which in conjunction with the sea makes a globe of two elements; what was then known could not be all the earth, but a great part must still be undiscovered, according to the measure of 360 degrees the whole

circumference contains, which being reduced into leagues, allowing seventeen and a half to a degree, make six thousand three hundred leagues; and that must certainly be inhabited, for God had not made it to lie waste; and though very many questioned, whether there was land and water about both the poles, yet it was requisite that the earth should bear the same proportion towards the Antarctic pole, as this part does to the Arctic; and hence he concluded that all the five zones were inhabited, and was the more confirmed in it, after he had sailed into 75 degrees of north latitude.

He also concluded, that as the Portuguese sailed to the southward, the same might be done to the westward, where in all reason there must be land found; and, for the more satisfaction, he took notice of all the tokens mariners observed, which made for this purpose, till he became very positive, that there were many lands to the westward of the islands of Cape Verde and the Canaries, and that it was practicable to sail over the ocean, and discover them, because the world being round, all the parts of it must of necessity be so too; that the earth is so fixed it can never fail, and that the sea though shut in by it, preserves its roundness, without falling away, with regard to the centre of gravitation.

Laying together many natural reasons, and perceiving, that not above the third part of the greatest circle of the sphere was discovered, being the extent eastward from the islands of Cape Verde to the furthest then known land in India, he concluded there must be much room for further discoveries to the westward till they came to meet with those lands the end whereof was not yet known by sailing eastward. In this opinion he was much confirmed by Martin de Bohemia, a Portuguese, his friend, born in the island of Fayal, and an able cosmographer.

Many more things concurred to encourage Columbus to that mighty enterprise, among which was, that discoursing with those who used to sail to the westward, and particularly the islands Azores, Martin Vicente assured him, that

being once four hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of wood artificially wrought, and as was supposed, not with iron ; whence, the wind having been many days at west, he inferred that piece of wood must come from some island. Peter Correa, who had married Columbus's wife's sister, assured him, that in the island of Puerto Santo he had seen another piece of wood, brought by the same winds, and wrought after that manner ; as also canes of such a thickness, that every joint would contain above a gallon of liquor. Columbus himself said, he had heard the king of Portugal affirm the same, in discourse upon such affairs, and that he had those canes, which he ordered to be showed him, and he concluded to have been drove by the wind, there being none such throughout all Europe, wherein he was confirmed by Ptolemy, who in the first book, and seventeenth chapter of his cosmography, says there are such canes in India. Some inhabitants of the islands Azores further assured him, that when the wind blew hard at west, and north-west, the sea threw up pine-trees on the coast of the islands of Graciosa and Fayal, whereas those islands produced none of that sort. The sea also cast up two dead bodies on the island Flores, whose faces seemed to be very broad, and their features different from the Christians. Another time they saw two canoes, with moveables in them, which might be drove away by the force of the wind, in passing from one island to another, and those boats never sinking, they at length came to the Azores. Antony Leme, who had married a wife in the island of Madeira, declared, that having run a considerable way to the westward in his caravel, he fancied he had seen three islands near the place where he was ; and many inhabitants of Gomera, Hierro and the Azores affirmed, they every year saw some islands to the westward. These, Columbus said, might be those Pliny speaks of in his natural history, where he says, the sea to the northward did cut off from the land some pieces of woods, whose roots being extraordinary large, they drove on the water like floats, and looked like islands at a distance.

(ii) Letter of Columbus, 1492

This brief document emphasizes the part played in history by chance, which thus gave the New World to Castile and Leon rather than to any other power.

Source—U. de Gheltof: Una lettera . . . ai Veneziani. Trans., Crawford, I, p. 491.

Very magnificent Sir,—

As your Republic did not think it was to its interest to accept my offers, and as all the hatred of enemies conspired to thwart me everywhere, I threw myself into the arms of the Lord my God. And He, by the intercession of His saints, brought it about that the most clement King of Castile, in his generosity, should help me to carry out my plan of conquering a new world.

Thus, praise be to the Lord my God, I obtained command of vessels and men, and I am presently going to sail towards this yet unknown land which God inspires me to seek. I thank you for all your kindness to me, and beg you to pray for me.

Columbo Crist.

Written from Palos, August 1, 1492.

6. PAPAL BULL DIVIDING THE NEW WORLD BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, 1493

Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) *made the first of many attempts to incorporate the newly-discovered lands into the existing society of nations—a task not yet completed.*

Source—Mirbt, pp. 246–248.

Among other works well-pleasing to Divine Majesty and dear to our heart this ranks very high : to exalt and spread abroad the Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in our times, and to save men's souls, and to deprive the barbaric nations and bring them into the same faith.

[For this work the 'Catholic Kings', Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille, who have recovered Granada from the Saracens, are specially well-equipped.]

[1–2. They have fulfilled a long-standing and laud-

able missionary design by sending out Columbus, who has discovered unknown lands inhabited by races fit for Christianity.]

3. And in the islands and countries already discovered, gold, spices and many other things . . . are found.

[4–5 and 7. We approve their plans of annexation, provided that they leave no stone unturned to make the natives Christians.]

6. . . . Of our mere liberality and with sure knowledge and by the fulness of apostolic power . . . we grant to you and to your successors the Kings of Castille and Leon for ever . . . all islands and mainlands found or to be found west and south of a line drawn from the northern to the southern pole . . . running a hundred leagues west and south from the Azores and Cape Vierde . . . not in the possession of any other Christian prince last Christmas. . . .

8. . . . We forbid under penalty of excommunication . . . any persons [to come there] to hold markets or for any other cause without the special permission of yourselves and your successors.

(*c*) THE TURKISH THREAT TO EUROPE

7. A FRENCH VIEW OF THE TURKS, *c.* 1433

De la Brocquière, returning overland from Palestine in 1433, *studied the Turkish system as a frank and shrewd warrior on the other side.*

SOURCE—Wright, T., pp. 362–369. Mijatovitch, pp. 35–40.

THEY are a tolerably handsome race, with long beards, but of moderate size and strength. I know well that it is a common expression to say ' as strong as a Turk ' ; nevertheless I have seen an infinity of Christians excel them when strength was necessary, and I myself, who am not of the strongest make, have, when circumstances required labour, found very many Turks weaker than I.

They are diligent, willingly rise early, and live on little, being satisfied with bread badly baked, raw meat dried in the sun, milk curdled or not, honey, cheese, grapes, fruit,

herbs, and even a handful of flour, with which they make a soup sufficient to feed six or eight for a day. Should they have a horse or a camel sick without hope of recovery, they cut its throat and eat it. I have witnessed this many and many a time. They are indifferent as to where they sleep, and usually lie on the ground. Their dress consists of two or three cotton garments, thrown one over the other, which fall to their feet. Over these, again, they wear a mantle of felt, called a 'capinat'. This, though light, resists rain, and some capinats are very fine and handsome. Their boots come up to the knees, and they wear wide drawers, some of crimson velvet, others of silk or fustian and common stuffs. In war, or when travelling, to avoid being embarrassed by their gowns, they tuck the ends into their drawers, that they may move with greater freedom.

Their horses are good, cost little in food, gallop well and for a long time. They keep them on short allowances, never feeding them but at night, and then giving them only five or six handfuls of barley with double the quantity of chopped straw, the whole put into a bag which hangs from the horse's ears. . . .

It is the policy of the Turks to have their armies twice as numerous as those of the Christians. This superiority of numbers augments their courage, and allows them to form different corps, and to make their attack on various parts at the same time. Should they once force an opening, they rush through in incredible crowds, and it is then a miracle if all be not lost. . . . The Turkish lances are worth nothing; their archers are the best troops they have, and these do not shoot so strongly or so far as ours. They have a more numerous cavalry; and their horses, though inferior in strength to ours and incapable of carrying such heavy weights, gallop better, and shirmish for a longer time without losing their wind.

I must own that in my various experiences I have always found the Turks frank and loyal, and when it was necessary to show courage, they have never failed. . . . Their armies, I know, commonly consist of 200,000 men,

but the greater part are on foot, and destitute of wooden shields, helmets, mallets or swords; few, indeed, being completely equipped. They have, besides, amongst them a great number of Christians, who are forced to serve—Greeks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Albanians, Slavonians, Wallachians, Servians, and other subjects of the despots of that country. All these people detest the Turk, because he holds them in a severe subjection; and should they see the Christians, and above all the French, march in force against the Sultan, I have not the slightest doubt but they would turn against him and do him great mischief.

8. THE TURKISH VIEW OF THE CHRISTIANS

The Sultan is supposed to be heartening his Viziers and Pashas against the threat of a European coalition.

SOURCE—Serbian MS., trans. Mijatovitch, pp. 41–43.

(i) *c.* 1500

YOU know well the unwashed Gyaours, and their ways and manners, which certainly are not fine. They are indolent, sleepy, easily shocked, inactive; they like to drink much and to eat much; in misfortunes they are impatient, and in times of good fortune proud and overbearing. They are lovers of repose, and do not like to sleep without soft feather-beds; when they have no women with them they are sad and gloomy; and without plenty of good wine they are unable to keep counsel among themselves. They are ignorant of any military stratagems. They keep horses only to ride while hunting with their dogs; if one of them wishes to have a good war-horse, he sends to buy it from us. They are unable to bear hunger, or cold, or heat, effort and menial work. They let women follow them in the campaigns, and at their dinners give them the upper places, and they want always to have warm dishes. In short, there is no good in them. . . .

And then, the Christians fight constantly among themselves, because every one desires to be a king, or a prince,

or the first amongst them. One says to another: 'Brother, help thou me to-day against this Prince, and to-morrow I will help thee against that one!' Fear them not; there is no concord amongst them. Every one takes care of himself only; no one thinks of the common interest. They are quarrelsome, unruly, self-willed and disobedient. Obedience to their superiors and discipline they have none, and yet everything depends on that!

When they lose a battle, they always say: 'We were not well prepared!' or 'This or that traitor has betrayed us!' or 'We were too few in number, and the Turks were far more numerous!' or 'The Turks came upon us without previous declaration of war, by misleading representations and treachery. They have occupied our country by turning our internal difficulties to their own advantage!'

Well, that is what they say, being not willing to confess truly and rightly: 'God is on the side of the Turks! It is God who helps them, and therefore they conquer us.'

(ii) *c.* 1525

Soliman the Magnificent replies to Francis I after Pavia in terms which illustrate the pride and progress of the Turks.

SOURCE—C.M.H., I, p. 95.

I who am the Sultan of Sultans, the Sovereign of Sovereigns, the distributor of crowns to the monarchs of the surface of the globe, the shadow of God on the earth, the Sultan and Padishah of the White Sea, the Black Sea, Rumelia, Anatolia, Caramania, Rum, Sulkadr, Diarbekr, Kurdistan, Azerbijan, Persia, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, all Arabia, Yemen, and other countries which my noble ancestors (may God brighten their tombs) conquered and which my august majesty has likewise conquered with my flaming sword, Sultan Sulayman Khan, son of Sultan Selim, son of Sultan Bayazid; you who are Francis, King of France, you have sent a letter to my Porte, the refuge of sovereigns.

9. THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO, 1571

This copy of a missive from the Christian armada, 8 October, 1571, shows the character of the Turkish disaster.

SOURCE—F.Z., pp. 14–16.

AFTER the Christian armada had arrived on the sixth of this month by night in the small channel in Kephalonia, the Turkish armada, which was lying in the gulf of Lepanto, immediately observed it. This is not surprising, for the pirate Caraggogia had arranged with the Turkish commanders to sight the Christian armada and to count its ships. This he did so skilfully as to escape hurt, but perhaps . . . failed to give the number of our galleys correctly. The Turkish commander very joyfully made preparations for battle, especially as the wind was very favourable, and embarked another 12,000 men in addition to the troops whom he already had on the armada. In this way, through God's providence, contrary to naval practice, he robbed himself of an advantage. Don Juan of Austria also set out with his armada, and sent out some galleys to sight the enemy ; sending also six galeasses out of harbour. The galleys reported that the Turkish armada was lying ready near Kephalonia. Thereupon Don Juan put on a suit of light armour, and embarked in a small ship called a frigate. With a crucifix in his hand, he put galley after galley in battle array and exhorted them to fight valiantly against the hereditary enemy of the Christian faith. Not he, he said, but Christ, who had died for us on the cross, was the father and lord of this armada, and he hoped that they would have grace from His godly help and arm. Thereupon the warriors shouted loud for joy and formed for battle. Then Don Juan re-entered his galley and rowed off to meet the Turkish armada. The sea had become quite calm and the galeasses in the van had begun a powerful bombardment, which was causing the Turks great damage and fear. They were crying: 'Maom, Maom!' which means 'Great ships, great ships with great guns!' In this way the Turkish armada, which had been sailing close together in a crescent, was broken up into three parts.

The first and greatest had attacked the left wing of the Christian armada, the second the middle, and the third the right wing, under Andreas Doria. At the outset Doria lost almost the entire crews of ten galleys, although they defended themselves most gallantly. It would have gone ill with him, if some galleys from the middle section had not come to his assistance, whereat his galleys took fresh heart, and made the enemy retire. The left wing also fought gallantly, but it would have gone ill with this too if it had not been reinforced by the marquis of Santa Cruz, who attacked the foe in such a manner that the victory was completely on our side. The wind too rose, to our advantage. In this engagement Uluch Ali disappeared, whether to Africa or to the gulf of Lepanto is not known. Out of 40 great galleys, of which we captured 29, he only escaped with one. Our general, Don Juan of Austria (as I should have mentioned at the beginning), encountered with his galley the galley of the Turkish commander, finally defeated it and cut off the head of the Turkish Pasha with his own hand and placed it on a spike in his galley. . . .

With God's help the Christians have gained the victory in five hours. Almost all the Turkish leaders with about 18,000 men were killed, 10,000 taken prisoner, and 15,000 Christians, who had been prisoners on the galleys, set free. These had done the Turks much damage during the battle.

A hasty reckoning shows on our side 20 Venetian nobles and about 1,000 men killed. A hundred Turkish galleys were captured, and sixty sunk.

To Almighty God and His Blessed Mother be praise and honour for ever! Amen.

(*d*) THE RENAISSANCE

10. THE POPE AND THE NEW LEARNING, 1515

Authorizing a new edition of Tacitus, Annals, *I–VI, Leo X wrote as follows:*

SOURCE—Papal brief. C.M.H., I, p. 566.

WE have been accustomed, even from our early years, to think that nothing more excellent or more useful has been

given by the Creator to mankind, if we except only the knowledge and true worship of Himself, than these studies, which not only lead to the ornament and guidance of human life, but are applicable and useful to every situation ; in adversity consolatory, in prosperity pleasing and honourable ; insomuch that without them we should be deprived of all the grace of life and all the polish of social intercourse.

11. BENVENUTO CELLINI AND THE ARTIST'S LIFE

Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71), *the Florentine whose genius as an artist in metal made him the intimate of popes and princes and condoned both crimes and follies, may be said to epitomize the life of the Renaissance Age more faithfully than perhaps any other individual. In the first of the scenes here described by him he has dressed up Diego, a boy of sixteen, in woman's clothes for a supper which several great painters and their female friends were to share. In the second he dabbles in witchcraft. A third extract contains his views on the hotly debated question of the precedence to be given to painting or to sculpture.*

SOURCES—(i) Cellini, I, pp. 64–66. (ii) Cellini, I, pp. 158–162. (iii) Cellini, II, pp. 264–265.

(i) THE ARTISTS FEASTING, *c.* 1523

WHEN we came to the place, the whole company were already met, and all rose to salute me ; Michael Angelo was between Julio Romano and John Francesco. As soon as I had taken the handkerchief from the head of my beautiful companion, Michael Angelo, one of the most facetious and diverting men in the world, with one hand taking hold of Julio, and with the other of John Francesco, with his utmost might drew them towards Diego, and obliged them to kneel down, at the same time falling upon his knees himself . . . he exclaimed: 'See in what form angels descend from the clouds! Though celestial spirits are represented as males, behold there are female spirits in heaven likewise . . . O beautiful angel . . . vouchsafe to direct me!' At these words the facetious creature lifted up his right hand, and gave him a papal benediction. Michael Angelo, rising, said that it was customary to kiss the

Pope's toe, but that adoration should be paid to the cheeks of angels. He then gave him a salute, and the youth coloured up, which greatly added to his beauty. This scene being over, every man produced a sonnet . . . and we gave them to Michael Angelo for his perusal. The latter began to read them aloud. . . . After our repast was over, we were entertained with a concert of music, both vocal and instrumental. . . . My angelical companion . . . acquitted himself better than any of the rest. . . . The music being over, one Aurelio Ascolano, who was very clever at repeating verses extempore . . . began to repeat some admirable lines in praise of the ladies.

[The disclosure of Diego's sex, with a mock penance inflicted on Benvenuto Cellini by Michael Angelo, ended the entertainment.]

(ii) Dabblings in Necromancy, *c.* 1528

[A learned Sicilian priest and his assistant took Benvenuto and a friend to the Colosseum 'to enter upon a plan of necromancy'.]

The priest, according to the custom of conjurers, began to draw circles upon the ground with the most awful ceremonies imaginable; he likewise brought thither all sorts of precious perfumes, and fire, with some compositions also which diffused noisome and bad odours. As soon as he was in readiness, he made an opening to the circle, and having taken us by the hand, ordered the other necromancer, his partner, to throw the perfumes into the fire at a proper time, entrusting the care of the fire and the perfumes to the rest, and then he began his incantations. This ceremony lasted above an hour and a half, when there appeared several legions of devils, insomuch, that the amphitheatre was quite filled with them. I was busy about the perfumes, when the priest, who knew there was a sufficient number of infernal spirits, turned about to me, and said: 'Benvenuto, ask them some favour.' I answered, 'Let them bring me into the company of my Sicilian mistress, Angelica.' That night we obtained no answer of any sort;

but I had received great satisfaction in having my curiosity so far indulged. The conjurer told me, it was requisite we should go a second time; assuring me, that I should be satisfied in whatever I asked, but that I should bring with me a youth of an uncontaminated life. I took with me my apprentice, who was about twelve years of age, together with the same Vincenzio Romoli, who had been my companion the first time, and one Agnolino Gaddi, an intimate acquaintance, whom I likewise prevailed on to assist at the ceremony. When we came to the place appointed, the priest having made his preparations as before, with the same, and even with more striking ceremonies, placed us within the circle, which he had likewise drawn with a more wonderful art, and in a more solemn manner, than at our former meeting. Thus having committed the care of the perfumes and the fire to my friend Vincenzio, who was assisted by Agnolino Gaddi, he put into my hand a pentagonum, and bid me turn it towards the places that he should direct me; and under the pentagonum I held my apprentice. The necromancer having begun to make his tremendous invocations, called by their names a multitude of demons, who were the leaders of the several legions, and questioned them by the virtue and power of the eternal uncreated God, who lives for ever, in the Hebrew language, as likewise in Latin and Greek; insomuch, that the amphitheatre was almost in an instant filled with demons a hundred times more numerous than at the former conjuration. Vincenzio Romoli was busied in making a fire with the assistance of Agnolino, and burning a great quantity of precious perfumes. I, by the direction of the necromancer, again desired to be in the company of my Angelica. The former thereupon turning to me said: 'You are to know, they have declared that in the space of a month you shall be in her company.' He then requested me to stand resolutely by him, because the legions were now above a thousand more in number than he had designed; and besides, these were the most dangerous, so that after they had answered my question, it behoved him to be civil

to them, and dismiss them quietly. At the same time, the boy under the pentagonum was in a terrible fright, saying, 'That there were in that place a million of stout men who threatened to destroy us; that moreover four giants appeared of an enormous stature, who were armed cap-à-pie, and endeavoured to break into our circle.' During this time, whilst the necromancer, trembling with fear, endeavoured, by mild and gentle methods, to dismiss them the best he could; Vincenzio Romoli, who quivered like an aspen leaf, took care of the perfumes. Though I was as much afraid as any of them, I did my utmost to conceal the terror I felt; so that I greatly contributed to inspire the rest with resolution; but the truth is, I gave myself over for a dead man, seeing the horrid fright the necromancer was in. The boy had placed his head between his knees, and said: 'In this attitude will I die; we shall all surely perish.' I told him, that all those demons were under us, and what he saw was smoke and shadow; so bid him hold up his head and take courage. No sooner did he look up, than he cried out: 'The whole amphitheatre is burning, and the fire is just falling upon us': so covering his eyes with his hands, he again exclaimed, that destruction was inevitable, and he desired to see no more. The necromancer entreated me to have a good heart and take care to burn proper perfumes; upon which I turned to Romoli, and bid him burn all the most precious perfumes he had. At the same time I cast my eye upon Agnolino Gaddi, who was terrified to such a degree, that he could scarcely distinguish objects, and seemed to be half dead, seeing him in this condition, I said: 'Agnolo, upon these occasions a man should not yield to fear, but should stir about and give his assistance; so come directly and put on some more of these perfumes.' Agnolo, upon attempting to move, gave a most unequivocal indication of the horrible fear he was in, which the boy discovering, ventured once more to raise his head, when seeing me laugh, he began to take courage, and said that the devils were flying away with a vengeance. In this condition we staid till the bell rang

for morning prayer. The boy again told us that there remained but few devils, and these were at a great distance. When the conjurer had performed the rest of his ceremonies, he stripped off his gown, and took up a wallet full of books which he had brought with him. We all went out of the circle together, sticking as close to one another as we possibly could ; especially the boy, who had placed himself in the middle, holding the necromancer by the coat, and me by the cloak. As we were going to our houses in the quarter of Banchi, the boy told us that two of the demons whom we had seen at the amphitheatre, went on before us leaping and skipping, sometimes running upon the roofs of the houses, and sometimes upon the ground. The priest declared, that as often as he had entered magic circles, nothing so extraordinary had ever happened to him. As we went along he would fain persuade me to assist with him at consecrating a book, from which he said we should derive immense riches.

(iii) The Arts—Sculpture, 1546

Benvenuto Cellini to Benedetto Varchi.

I assert that the art of sculpture, among all the arts connected with design, is at least seven times greater than any other,[1] for . . . a statue ought to have seven points of view, which ought all to boast equal excellence. . . . In wishing to display a soldier . . . the artist should himself be extremely valiant . . . in representing an orator, he too ought to be eloquent. . . . Sculpture is the parent of all other arts at all connected with design . . . for an excellent sculptor will meet with no sort of difficulty in making himself a good designer of perspective and architecture, as well as a much greater painter than he who is not well acquainted with sculpture. Painting, in fact, is nothing else much than a tree, a man, or any other object, reflected in the water. The distinction between sculpture and painting is as great as between the shadow and the substance.

(*e*) THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

12. THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I (1493–1519)

Maximilian I was a typical figure of his age and a great creator of history. 'The last knight of the Middle Ages,' he failed to prevent the disruption of Germany, but secured the greatness of the Habsburg family and the future of the Austrian state. Though he was versatile, able, frugal and attractive, Carlyle might have said of him as of John George of Saxony that on negative grounds, and without flagrancy of positive badness, he proved an unspeakable curse to Germany. As illustrating some aspects of his many-sided career:

(*i*) *as Holy Roman Emperor he receives from the foremost of Germans, the Elector Berthold of Mainz, an appeal to uphold the peace against a high offender* (1494);

(*ii*) *he arranges for the double wedding with the Spanish royal family which formed the basis and largely determined the history of the Kingdom of Spain and of the power of Charles V* (1496);

(*iii*) *he regulates trade in Austria;*

(*iv*) *he invites his daughter Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, to a hunting-party* (1507);

(*v*) *he directs her to assemble forces for the defence of Flanders against the French, whose deceit, he says, is better known to him than to her* (1508).

SOURCES—(i), (ii), (iii), Chmel, pp. 27, 132–7, 364–5; (iv) Le Glay, I, p. 38; (v) Le Glay, I, pp. 71–3 and pp. 87–9.

(i) BERTHOLD'S APPEAL, 11 APRIL, 1494

To the supremely transparent and most mighty prince and lord, the lord Maximilian, Roman King, for ever augmenter of the Empire, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., archduke of Austria, duke of Styria, Carinthia, Burgundy, etc., my all-gracious lord. . . . Your Majesty knows the land-peace heretofore established for us in the Empire by imperial authority.

Against that peace Count John of Wertheim has caused an honourable widow . . . living in my electorate and sister of my steward, to be seized by violence in her house and carried captive to his castle, together with her sister's son and her property. [All remonstrances, and offer to give security to the bishop of Würzburg and the prince of Bavaria for the investigation of the Count's claims have proved fruitless, and the knightly relatives of the widow

call upon Berthold to help them to deliver her. He appeals to the *de facto* Emperor.]

(ii) The Spanish Marriages (1496)

Those hereafter declared are to be notified to make themselves ready to go to Middleburg in Zealand . . . to receive the archduchess [Princess Joanna of Castille, bride of Maximilian's son, the archduke Philip] and bear her company [while she awaits the bridegroom]: the dowager duchess Margaret and three other ladies, the bishop of Liège and seven other ecclesiastics, six gentlemen including Egmont.

[When Joanna shall have reached Antwerp, Maximilian's daughter Margaret will repair thither with a retinue of thirty-four specified persons and will bear the Spanish princess company until her own departure for Spain as the bride of Prince John of Aragon and Castille. Eight ambassadors and seventy-two other persons will journey with her to Spain.]

The King wills that all the barges of the good towns of Holland and Zealand be brought together [to escort the princess to the point of departure] and that there be made for them an honourable and joyous feast and entertainment and that thereafter they return home.

[The cost of this and of the escort which the King directs will be no less than 58,500 florins.]

(iii) Trade Regulation

Anyone who brings in Venetian goods shall travel by no other road than over the Semmering.

And all merchants and foreigners . . . who touch Austria with their wares, whether by water or by land, shall travel only by the highway to Vienna and sell them there. If they sell in town markets or elsewhere save in free fairs, their goods shall be seized and a fine of four marks in gold be laid upon themselves.

Gold and silver shall no one buy or sell nor take out of the country. He who has such coin shall sell it to the prince.

[None of the Austrians are to trade with foreigners in goods intended for Vienna.]

No one is to bring in Hungarian wine, . . . nor beer excepting to Vienna. . . .

(iv) A Hunting Invitation in the 'Chancery Style' (1507)

Illustrious princess, dearest daughter, we make known to Thy Highness that to-day we are preparing our hunting in the near neighbourhood of the town of Aurach [near Ulm] at which hunting we desire and invite thee to meet us, setting out to this place to which the bearer of these presents will guide thee; where we will receive thee with kindness and will endeavour to give thee no common pleasure from the hunting, hoping that almighty God will long deign to keep thee safe.

(v) Maximilian on the French (1508)

Send a list of the great and small pieces of artillery that we have on your side, with powder and all other necessary provision. And provide two or three thousand pikes and three thousand halberds. . . . We have had more experience of the French than you and know them better. . . . What he [Marigny] has said to you is treacherous deceit.

(*f*) THE NEW MONARCHIES

13. THE FRENCH IN ITALY (MACHIAVELLI), 1513

These extracts from the most famous modern treatise on politics (i) summarize the great adventure of Louis XII, (ii) show how far it is possible for a man to write the history of his own times, and (iii) illustrate an 'a-moral', 'realistic', Bismarckian attitude, like that which preceded the Great War. Machiavelli (1469–1527), *unfortunate in his political life and poor, is now declared by his fellow-Florentines to have left 'a name for which no memorial inscription is adequate'.*

Source—Machiavelli, pp. 22–24.

King Louis was brought into Italy by the ambition of the Venetians, who desired to obtain half the state of Lom-

bardy by his intervention. I will not blame the course taken by the king, because, wishing to get a foothold in Italy, and having no friends there—seeing rather that every door was shut to him owing to the conduct of Charles—he was forced to accept those friendships which he could get, and he would have succeeded very quickly in his design if in other matters he had not made some mistakes. The king, however, having acquired Lombardy, regained at once the authority which Charles had lost; Genoa yielded; the Florentines became his friends; the Marquis of Mantua, the Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivogli, my lady of Forli, the Lords of Faenza, of Pesaro, of Rimini, of Camerino, of Piombino, the Lucchese, the Pisanians, the Sienese—everybody made advances to him to become his friend. Then could the Venetians realize the rashness of the course taken by them, which, in order that they might secure two towns in Lombardy, had made the king master of two-thirds of Italy.

* * * * *

And as if it were not enough to have aggrandised the Church, and deprived himself of friends, he, wishing to have the kingdom of Naples, divides it with the King of Spain, and where he was the prime arbiter of Italy he takes an associate, so that the ambitions of that country and the malcontents of his own should have where to shelter; and whereas he could have left in the kingdom his own pensioner as king, he drove him out, to put one there who was able to drive him, Louis, out in turn.

* * * * *

Therefore Louis made these five errors: he destroyed the minor powers, he increased the strength of one of the greater powers in Italy, he brought in a foreign power, he did not settle in the country, he did not send colonies. Which errors, if he had lived, were not enough to injure him had he not made a sixth by taking away their dominions from the Venetians; because had he not aggrandised the Church nor brought Spain into Italy, it would have been very reasonable and necessary to humble them; but having first taken these steps, he ought never to have consented to their ruin,

for they, being powerful, would always have kept off others from designs on Lombardy to which the Venetians would never have consented except to become masters themselves there; also because the others would not wish to take Lombardy from France in order to give it to the Venetians, and to run counter to both they would not have had the courage.

II

HABSBURG AND VALOIS

14. LOUIS XII AND FRANCIS I, 1515

SOURCE—Bayart, c. 58, pp. 366. Robinson, p. 18.

LATER in this same year, about the month of October, through the mediation of Lord Longueville, who was then a prisoner in England, a marriage was arranged, between King Louis and Mary, sister of the English king; and the lady was conducted to Abbeville, where our lord king married her. He did not much need to be married, for many reasons, nor did he greatly care to; but as he saw himself threatened with war on all hands and could not maintain himself without burdening his people, like the pelican, he sacrificed himself for his children. For when the queen Mary [then sixteen years old] had made her entry into Paris, with great magnificence; and after many jousts and tourneys, which lasted more than six weeks, were over, the good king, to please his young wife, changed his whole manner of life; for where he had been wont to breakfast at eight o'clock he had to take his 'dejeuner' at noon, and instead of going to bed at six o'clock in the evening he often did not get to bed before midnight. So, toward the end of December he fell ill of a disease which defied all human remedies, and he rendered up his soul to God on the first of the following January after midnight.

He had been a good prince, wise and upright, who maintained peace among his subjects and had not burdened them except when he was compelled to do so. He had seen much good and much evil in his time, for he knew the world well.

He had won many victories over his enemies, but at the end of his life fortune turned a rather sour face upon him. . . .

After him Francis, the first of that name, succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty. He was as handsome a prince as the world had ever seen, and had married Lady Claude of France, the eldest daughter of the King, his predecessor, and of the duchess of Brittany. Never has there been a king in France so beloved of the nobles. He was conducted to Rheims to be consecrated, accompanied by so many princes, gentlemen, and officers that the number of them was something almost incredible.

15. THE CHRISTIAN LEAGUE OF LONDON, 1518

Owing to the danger of a new invasion by the Turks under Selim the Grim, Leo X called upon Christian sovereigns to unite in arms.

'His advice was followed; the pope, the emperor and the kings of England, France and Spain entered into a confederacy, by which they were bound to aid and protect each other, and in every case of invasion of territory, whether the invader were one of the confederates or not, to unite their arms in defence of the party aggrieved, and to obtain justice for him from the aggressor.' (Lingard.)

The subscription of Charles of Spain was made at Saragossa on 14 January, 1519, the year in which his election as Holy Roman Emperor (Charles V) was to re-open the breach with France. The clause quoted below almost forms a catalogue of the European powers, but this early League of Nations never really came into being.

Source—Dumont, IV, i, p. 269.

. . . It is agreed that there be included in the present treaty of peace and friendship the friends, allies and confederates of all the parties . . . to wit on the side of the King of England, the King of Denmark, the Kings and Kingdoms of Hungary and of Portugal, the most illustrious Lady Margaret, daughter of the Emperor, Archduchess of Austria; Ferdinand, brother of the King of the Spains; the Doge and Lordship of the Venetians; the Duke of Urbino; the Dukes of Cleves and Juliers; the Magnificent House of Medici and the Lordship of the Florentines; the Duke of Ferrara; the Community and Society of the Teutonic Hansa; the Helvetian or Swiss Lords; and on the

side of the King of France, the King of Scotland, the King of Portugal, the King of Hungary, the King of Navarre, the Doge and Lordship of the Venetians, the Lordship of the Florentines and the eminent House of Medici, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Guelders, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Mantua, the Marquis of Montferrat, the Marquis of the Saluzzi, the Swiss Lords.

16. THE IMPERIAL ELECTION, 1519

One of the strongest threads which run through modern history is the hatred of the Germans for the French. The choice of Charles V in 1519, which proved all-important for Europe as well as for Germany, was largely determined by this feeling. Francis I thus suffered a personal rebuff, while the election of the ruler of Spain and of the Netherlands as emperor so engirdled France as to make opposition a national duty. Hence war after war with France distracted Charles and favoured the Reformation. In rude rhymes, such as those of which a rendering follows, a German national poet, having warned the Holy Roman Empire that the flight of the imperial eagle to foreign lands means the ruin of Germany, and the Electors that to be duped by the French will be their shame, roughly defies the Gallic cock.

SOURCE—Brant's *Ship of Fools*, cit. Schilling, p. 15.

To the Electors.

O ye Electors, will ye not thirst after justice? Have ye consented unto the Frenchman? Verily, verily, ye should rue the day . . . and Germany would need a cloak to hide her shame.

Take heed to thyself, O Holy Empire, lest they steal from thee crown and sceptre and these flee with thy eagle to foreign nations. Then would it go ill with us, and all Germany suffer shipwreck.

17. THE TREATY OF MADRID, 14 JANUARY, 1526

After the capture of Francis I at Pavia in February, 1525, he secured his own liberty by a treaty which he did not intend to keep, though his sons became hostages for its performance.

SOURCE—Dumont, IV, p. 125. Kidd, p. 180

26. WHEREAS the principal intention of the Emperor and the Most Christian King, has been, and is, to be able by this

private peace to arrive at universal peace, and consequently at the enterprises against the Turks and other infidels and against other heretics banished from the bosom of our Holy Mother Church, as necessity requires, and as our Holy Father the Pope has many times exhorted and persuaded; it has been agreed that they by their ambassadors in common, shall together beg the Holy Father to appoint a day as soon as possible, and to write to all Kings, Princes, and Christian Rulers that they send on the said day to the assembly their deputies and commissioners with full and sufficient powers not only to conclude the said universal Peace of all Christians, but also to arrange all the means suitable for the said enterprises. . . .

18. THE HABSBURGS AND HUNGARY

The aggrandisement of the Austrian House by marriage; the downfall of Hungary through the Turkish victory of 1526; the impossibility of governing Spain and the Empire by one hand; the distraction of the Emperor if he were a Habsburg; the temptation of France to make an entente *with the enemies of Europe—all are implicit in the Coronation Oath of 'King Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor', sworn at Buda in 1527.*

SOURCE—Márkus, II, p. 6.

WE, Ferdinand, by God's grace King of Hungary, Bohemia, etc., swear by the living God, by His most holy mother the Virgin Mary, and all the saints, that we will keep the churches of God, the lords prelates, barons, nobles, free cities and all people of the realm in their communities and liberties, rights, privileges and in ancient good and approved customs: and to all we will do justice: we will observe the decrees of his most serene highness Andrew sometime King: we will neither alienate nor diminish the territories of our realm of Hungary and whatsoever pertain thereto by any right or title: but we will increase and extend them so far as we shall be able: and we will do all else that we rightly may for the public good, honour and increase of all the estates and of the whole of our realm of Hungary. So help us God and all the Saints.

19. THE PEACE OF CRESPY, 18 SEPTEMBER, 1544

The Emperor's fourth war with France, as usual, enabled the Reformation to make dangerous progress. In the interests of monarchy and religion, he cut short a victorious campaign, so as to deal with the greater danger.

SOURCE—Dumont, IV, ii, p. 279. Kidd, p. 354.

. . . AND that this said Peace be made, and, for the service of God our sovereign Creator, be a basis for the re-establishing of our holy Faith and Religion in a Christian union, and to obviate the very great danger and risk in which this now is, and to bring about its general pacification, also to be able to arrive at a better understanding and to work unanimously for the driving back of the Turks and other infidel enemies, it has been drawn up and agreed that their said two Majesties, Imperial and Royal, will work sincerely and with all their might, with good and mutual intelligence and harmony, and will strive to the utmost to bring about and negotiate the said union according to, and by all the best means and devices which they shall agree on to bring about so good and so holy a work; trusting that the blessed Jesus Christ will help His holy cause and so holy a work, and that the Holy Spirit will inspire and illuminate their said two Majesties, and that all the other Powers, spiritual as well as temporal, will agree and work in harmony.

20. THE ABDICATION OF CHARLES V, 1555

Crippled by disease, and perhaps unduly convinced that he had failed in his career, Charles V sought to divest himself successively of his many crowns. The arrangements that he made in 1555 and 1556 were of vast historical importance, for they linked the Netherlands with Spain under Philip II, rather than with the Empire under Ferdinand I. The leave-taking at Brussels was a dignified and moving ceremony, many nobles, including young William of Orange, weeping with Charles himself.

SOURCE—Armstrong, II, p. 351.

I HAVE had to bear the burden of many wars, and that, as I can testify, against my will. Never have I undertaken

them except under compulsion and with regret. Even to-day I grieve that I cannot on my departure leave you in peace and quiet.

* * * * *

The Queen, my mother, is dead ; my son has arrived at man's estate. I trust that God will grant him the talents and the strength to fulfil, better than I have done, the obligations imposed upon a king. I pray you not to read in this my resignation any thought of withdrawing myself from the eventualities of trouble, danger and toil. Believe me, I have no other motive than the inconvenience attached to my powerless and crippled condition. I leave my son in my place, and commend him to you. Render to him the love and obedience which you have always shown towards me ; preserve zealously that union among yourselves which you have never abandoned ; sustain and maintain justice. Above all, do not permit the heresies which surround you to penetrate these lands, and if any such there are let them be rooted out. I know well that I have in my day committed many faults, as much from youth as from ignorance and carelessness or other causes. But I can truly testify that I have never done violence, wrong or injustice wittingly to any of my subjects ; if any I have done, it has not been to my knowledge, but in ignorance ; I am sorry for it, and I ask pardon for it.

21. HABSBURG AGAINST VALOIS, 1519–59

SOURCE—De Saulx, II, p. 246.

CHARLES THE FIFTH, being younger than King Francis, captured him at Pavia, thrice invaded his kingdom and drove him from the duchy of Milan and from Cleves. But when he grew old, Henry II shattered his plans, made him fight in Italy, gained Piedmont, took Metz, Toul and Verdun, drove the Emperor into Germany, and defeated him at Ranty.[1] When Henry fell into years, Philip was victorious at St. Quentin and Gravelines, defeated the

[1] Near St. Omer.

former's plans in Italy and deceived him in the peace negotiations. All this leads one to believe that war favours the younger leaders, because they are oftener bold and enterprising than the old, and he who strikes first has the advantage ; the young are bolder, better served by their adherents, since they expect a longer life for them, and more aided by their allies and friends, whom they have not yet circumvented or cheated. The old have such a recollection of former inconveniences that they become slow in their undertakings, more given to their pleasures and more hampered by illness, filled with irresolution and suspicion, the hinderers of Henry II ; and yet they ought to be more valiant than the young, for they have fewer years to lose ; the most proper age to lead armies and to manage great matters is that from thirty to fifty.

III

THE REFORMATION

(*a*) LUTHER AND GERMANY

22. TETZEL AND THE SALE OF INDULGENCES, 1517

The practical abuse which provoked Luther to protest on behalf of the deluded people is described by a contemporary.

SOURCE—F. Myconius, *Historia Reformationis* in Gieseler, V, p. 362. Kidd, pp. 19, 20.

. . . THIS ignorant and impudent friar gave out . . . that if a Christian had slept with his mother, and placed the sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest, the Pope had power in heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and, if he forgave it, God must do so also. Item, if they contributed readily and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St. Annaberg would become pure massive silver. Item, so soon as the coin rang in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid, would go straightway to heaven. The indulgence was so highly prized, that when the commissary entered a city, the Bull was borne on a satin or gold-embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens and children, went out to meet him with banners and tapers, with songs and procession. Then all the bells were rung, all the organs played; he was conducted into the church, a red cross was erected in the midst of the church, and the Pope's banner displayed; in short, God himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honour.

23. THE NINETY-FIVE THESES, 31 OCTOBER, 1517

Among the propositions with regard to the limits of the papal power which Luther undertook to defend are the following. They were known all over Germany within a fortnight.

SOURCE—Michelet, pp. 25–28.

FROM a desire to elicit the truth, the following theses will be maintained at Wittenberg under the presidency of the reverend father Martin Luther, of the Order of the Augustins, master of arts, master and lecturer in theology, who asks that such as are not able to dispute verbally with him, will do so in writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ says ' Repent ', he means that the whole life of his followers on earth shall be a constant and continual repentance.

This word cannot be understood of the sacrament of penance [that is to say, of confession and satisfaction] as it is administered by the priest.

Yet the Lord does not mean, in this, to speak only of internal repentance : internal repentance is null, if it does not produce externally all kinds of mortification of the flesh.

The pope cannot remit any condemnation, but only declare and confirm the remission that God himself has made of it ; unless he do so in the cases that pertain to himself. If he does otherwise, the condemnation remains wholly the same.

The same power which the pope has over purgatory throughout the entire church, every bishop has in his own diocese, and every vicar in his own parish. Besides, who knows whether all the souls in purgatory desire to be redeemed ? They say St. Severinus did not.

Those who think themselves sure of salvation with their indulgences will go to the devil with those who taught them so.

Every true Christian, living or dead, has part in all the good things of Christ or of the Church, by the gift of God, and without letter of indulgence.

Still we must not despise the pope's distribution and pardon, regarded as a declaration of God's pardon.

The true treasure of the church is the sacro-sanct gospel of the glory and grace of God.

Why does not the pope in his very holy character clear out purgatory at once, wherein so many souls are suffering ?

. . .

Cannot the pope, whose treasures at this time exceed the most enormous accumulations elsewhere, cannot he with his own money, rather than with that of impoverished Christians, raise a single church, for the metropolitan cathedral ?

24. GLIMPSES OF THE REFORMATION FERMENT, 1518–19

Luther, as he confessed, had not known what there was in the Indulgences, and found the song pitched too high for his voice. Only with much agony and many waverings did he find his place as the spiritual leader of a German revolution. The following extracts illustrate (i) the practical aspect of indulgences, (ii) and (iii) Luther's ecclesiastical loyalty shown by letters to Pope Leo X, (iv) the partisan influence of the press, described by Cochlaeus.

Sources—(i) Michelet, p. 31. (ii) Michelet, p. 36. (iii) Michelet, p. 56. (iv) Michelet, p. 71.

(i)

Even though the Church should really declare that indulgences efface sins better than works of satisfaction, it were a thousand times fitter for a Christian not to buy them, but rather to do the work of repentance, and suffer the penalties ; for indulgences are and can only be dispensations from good works and from salutary penalties. . . . If you have to spare, you should give it to your poor neighbour—that is better than to give it to raise up stone walls ; and if there be no one in your neighbourhood who requires your assistance, then give it to the churches of your own town. If any then remain, give it to St. Peter, and not before. . . .

(ii)

Wherefore, most holy father, I prostrate myself at the feet of your clemency, with all which I have and am. Bid me live, or slay me, call, recall, approve, disapprove, as it pleases you; I acknowledge in your voice the voice of Christ speaking and presiding in you. If I am worthy of death, I shall not refuse to die; for, 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, who is blessed for evermore. Amen.' May he preserve you to all eternity. (Trinity Sunday, 1518.)

(iii)

Letter to the Pope, 3 March, 1519.

'Ah, holy father, before God, before the whole creation, I affirm that I have never once had it in my thought to weaken or shake the authority of the holy see. I fully admit that the power of the Roman church is superior to all things under God; neither in heaven nor on earth is there aught above it, our Lord Jesus excepted. Let no credit be given by your holiness to any who seek to represent Luther to you in any other light.' . . .

(iv)

The books in support of Luther were printed by the typographers with minute care, often at their own expense, and vast numbers of copies were thrown off. There was a complete body of ex-monks, who, returned to the world, lived by vending the works of Luther throughout Germany. On the other hand, it was solely by dint of money that the Catholics could get their productions printed, and they were sent forth with such a host of faults, that they seemed the work of ignorant barbarians. If any printer, more or less conscientious than the rest, gave himself any trouble with any Catholic work, he was tormented to death by all his fellows, and by the people in the public streets, as a papist, and as a slave of the priests.

25. THE LEIPZIG DISPUTATION, 1519

At Wittenberg, Luther had called in question the papal power, and that in academic fashion. At Leipzig the debate was still academic, but it was carried on with much of the spirit of an inter-university contest, and it came to raise the fundamental question, Could a general Christian Council err? If so, where could truth be found with certainty?

SOURCES—(i) Köstlin, p. 114. (ii) Luther, III, pp. 476 *sq.* Translation, Robinson, p. 65

(i) THE WITTENBERGERS' ARRIVAL

THEY entered at the Grimma Gate, and their students, two hundred in number, ran beside the carriages with pikes and halberds, and thus accompanied their professors. Doctor Carlstadt drove first; after him, Doctor Martin and Philip (Melanchthon) in a light basket carriage with solid wooden wheels; none of the wagons were either curtained or covered. Just as they had passed the town-gate and had reached the churchyard of Saint Paul, Doctor Carlstadt's carriage broke down, and the Doctor fell out into the dirt; but Doctor Martin and his fidus Achates, Philip, drove on.

(ii) ECK'S REPORT

We have recently held a disputation at Leipzig, before a great audience of most learned men, coming together from all parts, by which (praise, honour and glory to God) the reputation of the Wittenberg party has been very much lessened even among the common people, while among the learned it is for the most part quite gone. You should have heard the rashness of the men, how blind they are, and how undaunted in their wickedness.

Luther denies that Peter was the chief of the apostles; he declares that ecclesiastical obedience is not of divine right, but that it was brought in by human appointment or that of the emperor. He denies that the church was built upon Peter: 'Upon this rock', etc. And though I quoted to him Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Leo and Bernard, with Theophilus, he contradicted them all without a blush; and said that

he would stand alone against a thousand, though supported by no other, because Christ is the foundation of the church, for other foundation can no man lay. I demolished that by quoting Revelations xii., about the twelve foundations, whereupon he defended the Greeks and schismatics, saying that even if they are not under obedience to the pope, still they are saved.

Concerning the tenets of the Bohemians, he said that some of those teachings condemned in the council of Constance are most Christian and evangelical; by which rash error he frightened away and caused to desert him many who were before his supporters.

Among other things, when I pressed upon him, 'If the power of the pope is only of human right and by the consent of the believers, whence comes your monk's costume that you wear? Whence have you the power of preaching and hearing the confessions of your parishioners?' etc., he replied that he wished that there were no order of mendicants, and said many other scandalous and absurd things: that a council, because they are men, can err; that it is not proved from sacred Scripture that there is a purgatory, etc.—all this you will see by reading our disputation, since it was written down by most faithful notaries.

26. LUTHER'S APPEAL TO THE GERMAN NOBLES, 1520

In the heat of two years' controversy, Luther had broken with pope and council. He was therefore driven to invoke the pure word of God as the rule of life and the secular authority to enforce it. A powerful ally appeared in the feeling of nationality which pervaded Germany, and in August, 1520, he issued a famous pamphlet to the Christian nobility of the German nation.

SOURCE—Michelet, pp. 74, 75.

. . . POOR Germans that we are,—we have been deceived! We were born to be masters, and we have been compelled to bow the head beneath the yoke of our tyrants, and to become slaves. Name, title, ensigns of royalty, we possess all these; force, power, right, liberty, all these have

gone over to the popes, who have robbed us of them. For them the grain, for us the straw. It is time we should cease to content ourselves with the mere image of empire ; it is time we resume the sceptre, and with the sceptre our body, and our soul, and our treasure ; it is time the glorious Teutonic people should cease to be the puppet of the Roman pontiff. Because the pope crowns the emperor, it does not follow that the pope is superior to the emperor. Samuel, who crowned Saul and David, was not above these kings, nor Nathan above Solomon, whom he consecrated. Let the emperor then be a veritable emperor, and no longer allow himself to be stripped of his sword or of his sceptre !

27. EMANUEL THE GREAT TO FREDERICK THE WISE, 21 APRIL, 1521

Besides commemorating the position to which her part in the age of discovery had raised Portugal, this letter shows that the alarm caused by Luther was European and not merely German.

SOURCE—Facsimile (Latin) in Schreckenbach, p. 113, with German translation, p. 183.

To the most illustrious Prince, his dear friend, from Emanuel, by the grace of God King of Portugal and Algarve on both sides of the sea, in Africa ruler of Guinea, Lord of the land- and sea-routes, and of the commerce in Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, greeting !

From many letters and messages and sure tidings we have learned that the enemy of the Christian Faith and son of perdition, Martin Luther, has already not only befooled many peoples and towns in Germany with his sermons and false imaginings, but has also published impious books filled with unrighteous deceits, with which to lead away Germany and any Christian peoples whom he can, from the true doctrines of the Holy Roman Church and their obedience to the vicar of Christ, to his own infamous opinions. In accordance with our loyalty and obligations, by which all Christian princes feel themselves bound to God and His Holy Mother, and with our quite especial, due and brotherly love for his Imperial Majesty and the close bond of kinship,

we have therefore sent him a letter about this and a reliable messenger, because for very many reasons the punishment of this terrible crime falls upon him. . . . In view of the great danger to the Christian cause, [he should] bring help as soon as possible to the oppressed Church of God and the Ship of Peter, to cut away the wound while it is still new, to intervene against the author of the evil himself and his companions in crime, and to eradicate his destructive false doctrines under pain of the most severe penalties.

28. THE DIET OF WORMS, 1521

'Luther at Worms is the most momentous and pregnant fact in our history' (Acton), for he there defied all authority, pope, council and emperor alike. The young and untried Emperor, Charles V, took his stand with no less heroism, thereby assuming a burden under which he was to labour for more than thirty years. Extracts (i) and (ii) illuminate Luther's position by his own words; (iii) fell from the lips of Charles after hearing Luther in public.

SOURCES—(i) Michelet, pp. 79, 80. (ii) Michelet, p. 89. (iii) Armstrong, Vol. I, p. 70.

(i) LUTHER'S JOURNEY

THE herald summoned me on the Tuesday in Holy Week, and brought me safe-conducts from the emperor, and from several princes. On the very next day, Wednesday, these safe-conducts were, in effect, violated at Worms, where they condemned and burned my writings. Intelligence of this reached me when I was at Worms. The condemnation, in fact, was already published in every town, so that the herald himself asked me whether I still intended to repair to Worms.

Though, in truth, I was physically fearful and trembling, I replied to him—'I will repair thither, though I should find there as many devils as there are tiles on the house tops.' When I arrived at Oppenheim, near Worms, Master Bucer came to see me, and tried to dissuade me from entering the city. He told me that Glapion, the emperor's confessor, had been to him, and had entreated him to warn me not to go to Worms; for that if I did, I should be burned.

(ii) Luther's Answer

Since then your imperial majesty and your highnesses demand a simple answer, I will give you one; brief and simple, but deprived of neither its teeth nor its horns. Unless I am convicted of error by the testimony of Scripture, or by manifest evidence [for I put no faith in the mere authority of the pope, or of councils, which have often been mistaken, and which have often contradicted one another, recognizing, as I do, no other guide than the Bible, the Word of God], I cannot and will not retract, for we must never act contrary to our conscience.

Such is my profession of faith, and expect none other from me. I have done: God help me! Amen!

(iii) Speech of Charles V

My predecessors, the most Christian Emperors of German race, the Austrian archdukes, and dukes of Burgundy, were until death the truest sons of the Catholic Church, defending and extending their belief to the glory of God, the propagation of the faith, the salvation of their souls. They have left behind them the holy Catholic rites that I should live and die therein, and so until now with God's aid I have lived, as becomes a Christian Emperor. What my forefathers established at Constance and other Councils, it is my privilege to uphold. A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the faith held by all Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred. I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and soul. For myself and you, sprung from the holy German nation, appointed by peculiar privilege defenders of the faith, it would be a grievous disgrace, and eternal stain upon ourselves and our posterity, if in this our day, not only heresy, but its very suspicion were due to our neglect. After Luther's stiff-necked reply in my presence yesterday, I now repent that I have so long delayed pro-

ceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have now resolved never again, under any circumstances, to hear him. Under protection of his safe-conduct he shall be escorted home, but forbidden to preach and to seduce men with his evil doctrines and incite them to rebellion. I warn you to give witness to your opinion as good Christians and in accordance with your vows.

29. ERASMUS ON LUTHER, 1521

Besides characterizing its author, this letter, written from Brussels to Richard Pace (5 July, 1521) suggests something of the attitude of the Humanists towards the 'rude, angry and not very learned monk' (Acton).

SOURCE—Erasmus. Translation, Robinson, p. 90.

MAY I be lost if in all of Luther's works there is a single syllable of mine, or if any calumnious book was ever published by me; on the contrary I do all I can to deter others from issuing such works. Now, however, they are taking a new tack, and assert that Luther has borrowed some of his doctrines from my works, as if he had not borrowed more from Paul's epistles. I now see clearly at last that it has been the policy of the Germans to implicate me, whether I would or no, in this business of Luther,—a most unwise policy indeed, since nothing would sooner have alienated me from them. What aid indeed could I have rendered Luther even had I chosen to share his danger? The only result would have been that two must perish instead of one. I can never sufficiently wonder at the violent spirit which he has displayed in his writings, by which he has certainly brought immense discredit on all the friends of good literature. Many indeed of his teachings and exhortations are excellent, but I wish that he had not vitiated the good in his writings by his intolerable faults.

But even if he had always written in the most reverent spirit, still I should have had no inclination to risk my life for the truth. It is not every one who has strength for martyrdom, and I am afraid that if any outbreak should take

place I should imitate St. Peter. When the popes and emperors decree what is right I obey,—which is the course of true piety; but when they command what is wrong, I submit,—and that is the safe course. I think that all good men are justified in acting thus when there is no hope of successful opposition. . . .

30. LUTHER'S REPLY TO HENRY VIII

Part of Luther's supreme effectiveness came from his boundless confidence in any belief at which he had arrived; part, from the vigour of his pen, which was exactly what his fellow-countrymen enjoyed. The following extract shows him as the ever-fertile controversialist—a most important function on the Reformation side.

SOURCE—Michelet, pp. 123–126.

IF a king of England spits his impudent lies in my face, I have a right, in my turn, to throw them back down his very throat. If he blasphemes my sacred doctrines; if he casts his filth at the throne of my monarch, my Christ, he need not be astonished at my defiling, in like manner, his royal diadem, and proclaiming him, king of England though he be, a liar and a rascal. . . .

King Henry justifies the proverb: Kings and Princes are fools. Who sees not the hand of God in the blindness and imbecility of this man? I shall say very little more about him at present, for I have the Bible to translate, and other important matters to attend to; on some future occasion, God willing, when I shall be more at leisure, I will reply at greater length to this royal driveller of lies and poison. . . . I imagine that he set about his book by way of penance, for his conscience is ever smiting him for having stolen the crown of England, making way for himself by murdering the last scion of the royal line, and corrupting the blood of the kings of England. . . .

Hal and the pope have exactly the same legitimacy: the pope stole his tiara as the king did his crown; and therefore it is they are as thick together as two mules in harness. . .

As to myself, as to the words of the fathers, of men, of angels, of devils, I oppose, not old customs, nor the multitude of men, but the Word of Eternal Majesty, that gospel which my adversaries themselves are compelled to recognize. . . .

I am sure that my doctrines proceed from heaven. I have made them triumph against him who, in his little finger, has more force and cunning than all the popes, all the kings, and all the doctors that ever were. My dogmas will stand, and the pope will fall, despite all the gates of hell, all the powers of the air, of the earth, of the sea. They have challenged me to war: well, they shall have war: they have contemptuously rejected the peace I offered them; they shall not have peace. God will see which of us will soonest cry quarter, the pope or I. . . .

31. THE REFORMATION IN THE EASTERN BALTIC LANDS, 1523

Within two years of the Diet of Worms, Luther's teaching was being thus applied many hundreds of miles from the fountain-head.

SOURCE—De Thou, II, p. 289.

THE city of Treptaw stands in the Eastern Pomerania . . . and for the pleasantness of its situation and fruitfulness of the soil had been chosen for the university of the country. To this place the youth from the neighbouring province of Livonia flocked for the advantage of learning . . . Luther's book *Of the Babylonish Captivity* was brought thither, wherein, with the utmost vehemence . . . he inveighs against the pride of the pope and the abuses introduced by the Court of Rome. . . . This . . . pleasing most of the youth which studied there, by degrees assemblies began to be formed . . . after the fashion instituted by Luther. From thence, the warmth of youth helping forward the fervour of religion, the students committed several outrages—upon the Fellows and monks of the College, . . . stealing some images by night out of one of the churches and throwing them into an adjacent well. The Fellows

. . . calling in . . . the Ordinary . . . by threats of death expelled those teachers and the youth which followed them. . . . But Cnoff, preaching at Riga . . . slily insinuated a hatred of the pope into the minds of his hearers. . . . They presently fell to casting the images out of the churches and . . . everywhere demolished the altars. . . . The same thing was practised at Derpt,[1] at the instigation of a tanner from Wittenberg, . . . all the ornaments of the temples being openly and in the market-place thrown into the fire. . . . The Senate of Derpt winked at these proceedings: the monks were everywhere expelled; and many of them miserably dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries, as well women as men . . . [An Imperial mandate for restitution was defied at Riga, the peoples] knowing the Emperor to be involved in other wars, frequently saying that . . . if he came with a numerous army it would perish with hunger and want; if with a small one, it might easily be defeated. . . . They even invaded the churches which the Russian merchants had built for themselves in Riga, Revel and Derpt . . . and after sacking them laid them level with the ground. At Derpt . . . they set apart the Dominican church as an arsenal . . . and that of the Franciscans for the burning of lime and . . . let out the Moscovite Church to the Germans, for the greater mockery, as a receptacle of dirt and ordure.

32. PROGRAMME OF LUTHERAN REFORMS, 1525

What changes in the daily life of the people were intended by the Lutheran leaders can hardly be more succinctly shown than by the programme issued on New Year's Day, 1525, by the newly nominated Bishop of Pomerania.

SOURCE—Translation, Kidd, p. 189.

1. HITHERTO ye have held seven sacraments, but not rightly. Henceforward faith must be before all things the foundation of your salvation, and ye must have no more

[1] Once perhaps Yuriev (Russian), well known as Dorpat (German), now Tartu (Estonian).

sacraments than Christ ordained, namely, Holy Communion and Holy Baptism.

3. Henceforward no auricular confession shall be made to the priest, whereby a man is bound to make known all his sins.

4. Henceforward there shall be no pilgrimages, since they aid no man's salvation.

5. Henceforward no processions shall be held, for they have no ground in God's word.

6. Henceforward no ringing, nor singing, nor Masses, nor Vigils for the dead are to be held: for they are of no use.

7. Henceforward no water, salt, ashes, palms, tapers, greenery, and the like are to be hallowed: for it is all nonsense and no good.

8. There are to be no obsequies and celebrations for the dead, and no prayers for them. For they are in God's hand and judgement.

9. There are to be no more Orders, neither monks nor nuns; but only such Orders as war against unbelievers and heathen, like the Teutonic Order.

10. Bishops shall continue and remain; not anointing-bishops nor ordaining-bishops, but such as preach and teach and expound the pure word of God and preside over the Church.

11. Henceforward there are to be no superstitious distinctions made of days and seasons, with all sorts of Feast Days, Fridays, Saturdays, Ember Days, Fast Days, and so on; but every day alike shall be the Lord's Day, for eating flesh or fish as every man likes or finds necessary, or according as the good God may bestow it.

12. Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, together with Sundays, are to be kept in Christian fashion, as is conformable to God's Word and order. Other such Holy Days as are not grounded in God's Word and keep men from their daily work and calling are sheer nonsense and fables, and conduce to bad example.

13. Hymns and prayers in Church are to be in German, so that every man may understand. 'Hail, Queen' is not

to be sung, for it conduces to God's dishonour. Holy Baptism is to be administered in German, without chrism and oil.

14. Tithes are not to be given to priests who do not serve their office, but those who minister at the altar are to be paid from the altar.

15. In no church shall the Consecrated Bread be reserved nor taken for God's Body except at the Communion, according to Christ's institution, nor carried about.

16. Pictures in houses and churches are not to be prayed to, nor to have any candles lit before them.

19. The daily Mass is an abomination to God.

21. If any one thinks that he can make satisfaction for his sins himself, or can save himself apart from the merits of Christ, let him be anathema.

22. All priests and monks and nuns are at liberty to leave their orders and marry.

33. THE PEASANTS' REVOLT, 1525

The rebellion of 1525 demonstrated the social unrest which had in great measure occasioned the Reformation. By causing Luther to take shelter behind the princes, it also largely determined the character of the new order. (i) The twelve articles of the peasants, and (ii) Luther's reply, and (iii) his later verdict are here given.

SOURCE—(i) Kidd, p. 174. (ii) Michelet, pp. 175, 177. (iii) Michelet, p. 184.

(i)

THERE are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the Gospel, saying: Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one should obey but all should everywhere rise in revolt, and rush together to reform, or perhaps destroy entirely, the authorities, both ecclesiastical and lay? The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve in the first place to remove the reproach from the word of God and, in the second place, to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire Peasantry. . . .

The First Article. . . . each community should choose

and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should teach us the Gospel pure and simple, without any addition, doctrine, or ordinance of man. . . .

The Second Article. According as the just tithe is established by the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we are ready and willing to pay the fair tithe of grain. The word of God plainly provides that in giving according to right to God and distributing to his people the services of a pastor are required. We will that for the future our church provost, whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe. From this he shall give to the pastor, elected by the whole community, a decent and sufficient maintenance for him and his, according to the judgement of the whole community. What remains over shall be given to the poor of the place, as the circumstances and the general opinion demand. Should anything farther remain, let it be kept, lest any one should have to leave the country from poverty. Provision should also be made from this surplus to avoid laying any land tax on the poor. . . . The small tithes, whether ecclesiastical or lay, we will not pay at all, for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man. We will not, therefore, pay farther an unseemly tithe which is of man's invention.

The Third Article. It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and wish to be so. Not that we should wish to be absolutely free and under no authority. . . .

[The Fourth Article. Game, wild fowl, and fish are to be free as God created them.]

[The Fifth Article. Woods, unless duly purchased, to revert again to the community. Fuel from the woods to be free to all.]

The Sixth Article. The sixth complaint is in regard to the excessive services demanded of us, which are increased from day to day. We ask that this matter be properly looked into, so that we shall not continue to be oppressed in this way. . . .

[The Seventh Article. All services beyond the contract to be paid for in wages.]

[The Eighth Article. Rents to be revised in accordance with the value of the land.]

The Ninth Article. In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offence, but sometimes with great ill will, and sometimes much too leniently. In our opinion we should be judged according to the old written law, so that the case shall be decided according to its merits, and not with partiality.

[The Tenth Article. Common pastures and fields to be restored.]

[The Eleventh Article. Heriots to be entirely abolished.]

Conclusion. In the twelfth place it is our conclusion and final resolution, that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly recede from, when it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the scripture. Or, if articles should now be conceded to us that are hereafter discovered to be unjust, from that hour they shall be dead and null and without force. Likewise if more complaints should be discovered which are based upon truth and the scriptures, and relate to offences against God and our neighbour, we have determined to reserve the right to present these also. . . .

(ii)

The demands you have drawn up are not in themselves contrary to natural law and to equity, but they are rendered so by the violence with which you seek to force them from the hands of authority; so, too, he who prepared

them is not a pious and sincere man ; he has cited a great number of chapters of the gospel, without giving the verses themselves, which he has done for the purpose of seducing you, and involving you in danger by specious appearances, without enabling you from the text itself to confute him.

For I will tell you that when we come to read the chapters he has indicated, so far from their telling in favour of your enterprise, they are, on the contrary, against you ; for they inculcate that all men should live and act as becomes Christians. He who has thus essayed to attack the gospel by your means, is assuredly a prophet of sedition and of murder ; but God will resist him, and preserve you from him. . . .

Answer to the eight last Articles.—As to your propositions respecting game, wood, feudal services, assessment of payments, etc., I refer these matters to the lawyers ; I am not called upon to decide respecting them ; but I repeat to you that the Christian is a martyr, and that he has no care for all these things ; cease, then, to speak of the Christian law, and say rather that it is the human law, the natural law that you assert, for the Christian law commands you to suffer as to all these things, and to make your complaint to God alone. . . .

(iii)

30th May, 1525. I think that all the peasants should perish, rather than the princes and magistrates, because the peasants have taken up the sword without divine authority. . . . No mercy, no toleration, is due to the peasants ; on them should fall the wrath of God and of man. . . . The peasants are under the ban of God and of the Emperor, and may be treated as mad dogs.

34. THE NEW BIBLE, 1528

' Martin Luther . . . created the German speech. This happened when he translated the Bible. . . . The divine Author . . . lent him the wondrous power to translate from a dead speech, which was as though already buried, into another which had not yet come to life.' (*Heine.*)

Luther's own account of the work which gave Germany cultural unity is as follows :

SOURCE—Michelet, p. 417.

I SWEAT blood and water in my efforts to render the Prophets into the vulgar tongue. Good God ! what work it is ! How difficult it is to make these Jew writers speak German. They struggle furiously before they will give up their Hebrew to our barbarous tongue. 'Tis as though Philomela, forgetting her sweet melody, were to imitate the cuckoo's monotonous note. (14th of June, 1528.)

35. THE MARBURG CONFERENCE, 1529

In the early years of the Reformation it became apparent that a number of new churches, not a single reformed church, would result from ' the religion of private judgment '. A long step in this direction was taken when Luther, in 1529, insisted upon a sacramental doctrine which Zwingli, the Swiss, and others could not accept. His attitude is described in his letters.

SOURCE—Michelet, p. 217.

THE landgrave of Hesse has convoked a meeting of our party at Marburg, on the day of Saint Michael ; in order to try to effect a reconciliation between ourselves and the sacramentarians. I expected no good results from this step. The difficulties are too great, and I see only snares. My fear is that, as in the days of Arius, they will carry off the victory. Assemblies such as these have always proved more hurtful than beneficial.

* * * * *

The Landgrave has afforded us a most magnificent and liberal hospitality. There were at his court Œcolampadius, Zwinglius, Bucer, etc. All joined in suing me for peace with the most extraordinary humility. The conference lasted two days. I responded to the argument of Œcolampadius and Zwinglius by citing this passage : ' This is my body.' In effect, they are ignorant and insufficient, utterly incapable of sustaining an argument.

36. THE 'PROTESTANTS', 1529

As the Diet of Speier (1529) *had cancelled the authority with regard to religion previously given to the several States* (1526), *and had thus re-enforced the Edict of Worms* (1521) *outlawing heretics, the Elector of Saxony organized a protest against the Imperial Recess of Speier, and the Evangelical minority who signed this gained the name Protestants.*

SOURCE—Schilling, p. 59. Translation, Kidd, pp. 244–245.

(i) THE PROTEST OF 19 APRIL

WE hold that . . . our great and urgent needs require us openly to protest against the said resolution . . . as being . . . null and void, and, so far as we ourselves and our people, one and all, are concerned, not binding. This we hereby presently do. We hereby protest . . . that we . . . know not how to, cannot, and may not, concur therein, but hold your resolution null and not binding; and we desire, in matters of religion [pending the said general and free Christian council or national assembly] . . . so to live, govern, and carry ourselves, in our governments, as also with and among our subjects and kinsfolk, as we trust to answer it before God Almighty and his Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord.

(ii) THE APPEAL OF 25 APRIL

. . . a unanimous decision can only be altered by a similarly unanimous vote. But besides this, in matters which concern God's honour and the salvation and eternal life of our souls, every one must stand and give account before God for himself; and no one can excuse himself by the action or decision of another. . . .

37. THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG, 25 JUNE, 1530

The elaborate apology for the Reformers which Melanchthon drew up was read at the Diet of Augsburg and became the recognized standard of belief for the Lutheran churches. Written to prove to Charles V that what the Reformers taught was what the whole Catholic Church ought to follow, it sharply condemns the Anabaptist and other heresies and sects. Its general tone may be suggested by (i) a few brief extracts

from a document of which the full text would cover about one-sixth of this book, while (ii) indicates the uncompromising attitude of Luther.

SOURCES—(i) Latin text in Kidd, p. 259. German (reconstructed), Ranke, *D.G.*, p. 89. (ii) Michelet, p. 223.

(i) ARTICLES OF FAITH AND DOCTRINE

7. . . . THERE must always be one Christian Church, which is the assembly of all believers, among whom the gospel is preached in purity and the holy sacraments administered in accordance therewith. . . . It is not necessary to the true unity of the Christian Church that uniform ceremonies, devised by men, should be observed. . . .

10. . . . The body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Lord's Supper, under the form of bread and wine . . .

11. Regarding Confession they teach that private absolution is to be retained in the churches, but that it is not necessary (because impossible) to recount every sin. . . .

14. . . . No one shall teach publicly in the churches or preach or administer the Sacraments unless duly ordained.

16. . . . Christians may without sin serve as magistrates . . . judge according to the Imperial and other existing laws, punish evil-doers with the sword, wage just wars, fight, go to law, buy and sell, hold property, take oaths, marry, etc.

Hereby the Anabaptists are condemned who teach that these are unlawful for Christians.

(ii) LUTHER ON COMPROMISE

'I am utterly opposed to any effort being made to reconcile the two doctrines; for it is an impossibility, unless, indeed, the Pope will consent to abjure papacy. Let it suffice us that we have established our belief upon the basis of reason, and that we have asked for peace. Why hope to convert them to the truth?' And on the same day (26th August) he tells Spalatin: 'I understand that you have undertaken a notable mission—that of reconciling Luther and the Pope. But the Pope will not be reconciled,

and Luther refuses. Be mindful how you sacrifice both time and trouble. If you succeed, in order that your example may not be lost, I promise you to reconcile Jesus Christ and Belial.'

38. THE SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE, 27 FEBRUARY, 1531

Not for the first time nor the last, the failure of the Germans to achieve national unity was attested by the formation of armed confederations. War was delayed for fifteen years, but France and the Reformation advanced.

SOURCE—Winckelmann, II, 17 *seq.* Translation, Kidd, p. 301.

WHEREAS it is altogether likely that those who have the pure Word of God preached in their territory, and thereby have abolished many abuses, are to be prevented by force from continuing this service so pleasing to God;

And whereas it is the duty of every Christian government not only to have the Word of God preached to its subjects but also, as far as possible, to prevent their being compelled to fall away from it;

Now we, solely for the sake of our own defence and deliverance, which both by human and divine right is permitted to every one, have agreed that whenever any one of us is attacked on account of the Word of God and the doctrine of the Gospel, or anything connected therewith, all the others shall immediately come to his assistance, as best they can, and help to deliver him. . . .

39. IMPERIAL EDICT IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1531

Illustrating the statesmanship of Charles V, who applied to each portion of his dominions the remedy which it could bear, and foreshadowing the lines of the revolt against his less skilful successor.

SOURCE—Ranke, *D.G.*, VI, p. 147 (German).

[To remedy the abuses and errors of Luther and other heretics, the Emperor has procured inquisitors from Rome and has published proclamations, but more severity was called for. Therefore with the advice of many councillors

and of his late Aunt the Regent more severe laws were made, but the mischief went on.] Now therefore we decree that no one . . . shall print or write, sell or buy, distribute, read, keep or receive, preach, teach, maintain or defend, communicate or argue publicly or secretly or hold conventicles . . . with the books, writings or doctrines of Luther, Wyclif, Huss, Marsiglio of Padua, Œcolampadius, Zwingli, Melanchthon etc. or their disciples [nor unauthorized books, including certain New Testaments] nor paint nor possess opprobrious pictures of God or the Virgin or Saints, nor break or deface [lawful images or paintings. And no one is to dispute about Holy Scripture except theologians approved by a famous university. Offenders if relapsed are to be burned ; if not, men to be beheaded and women drowned, their heads set on a stake in the neighbourhood as an example to others and their goods forfeited, etc.]. Brussels, October 7.

40. THE BIGAMY OF PHILIP OF HESSE

The failure of the Lutheran divines to check one of the two secular leaders of their movement in his design to commit bigamy threw immense discredit upon the Reformation. Christian unity had been destroyed, and it seemed as though Christian morality was to follow.

Source—Michelet, p. 253.

We cannot publicly introduce or give our sanction, as by a law, to a permission for marrying a plurality of wives. We implore your highness to reflect upon the danger in which that man would be placed who should be convicted of having introduced into Germany a law such as this, whereby divisions would be instantly created amongst families, and a series of eternal law-suits arise. . . . If, however, your highness is utterly determined upon marrying a second wife, we are of opinion that it ought to be done secretly. Signed and sealed at Wittenberg, after the feast of Saint Nicholas, in the year 1539. Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Antony Corvin, Adam John Lening, Justin Wintfert, Dyonisius Melanther.

41. THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG, 1547

Mühlberg on the Elbe, a victory of Spaniards over Germans, brought Charles V to the zenith of his career. His long patience with the Lutherans and the heroism which prompted him, crippled as he was, to endure two campaigns were now rewarded, and he became for a moment master in both Church and State.

SOURCE—*Charles V (Autobiography)*, pp. 143–149.

THE Emperor retired to rest till midnight. He then got up and gave the signal to saddle, so that everything might be ready for marching at daybreak. Before dawn he sent forward the Duke of Alba with some light horse and mounted musketeers to reconnoitre the enemy's movements and position. The Emperor, after having heard mass with the King his brother and Duke Maurice, followed him with the advanced guard, and, having set his whole army, or at least the greater portion of it, in movement, as was required, he commenced the march at the first rays of dawn (which at this season breaks about three o'clock in the morning) and at eight o'clock in the morning took up a position opposite the enemy's camp.

During the whole of that morning there was a dense mist which was a great obstacle to the march, and the Emperor was much annoyed at the embarrassments and delays which under these circumstances the fog occasioned him. The fog still prevailed when they arrived opposite the enemy's camp, so that nothing could be discerned. However the Emperor placed everything in the hands of God, that, whether he should be preserved or perish, His will should be done, and God in his mercy deigned all of a sudden to clear away the fog, and give such a clear sky, that it was discovered that the supposition which his majesty had made on the previous day had been realized ; for not only had the enemy not taken their departure, nor were they making any show of moving, but they were not aware of the arrival of their majesties with an army ; and, moreover, the fog which had impeded the march of their majesties was favourable to them by preventing the enemy discovering the imperial army up to this moment, which, despite the fog, had

advanced in such good order that every man was in the rank allotted to him.

As soon as the fog had cleared off the enemy discovered what they had not yet seen; for they fancied that the troops which had arrived at the bank of the stream they had seen were not more numerous than those which they had seen the evening before, and of which they made no account, but as soon as they recognized what they had by no means expected, they immediately commenced taking down their tents and flags, mounting their horses, and placing themselves in marching order.

* * * * *

As soon as the Emperor received the information he was waiting for, he immediately ordered all the Hungarians and light horse to advance with the whole of the vanguard, with which was the Duke Maurice, and which was commanded by the Duke of Alba. Their Majesties, having left sufficient troops to guard the camp, followed them immediately with the main body, and they made such good speed that, after three German leagues, they came up with them. Although some thought it hazardous to attack with cavalry only, without infantry and artillery, as the enemy was strongly entrenched in a position near a swamp, the Emperor considered, nevertheless, that it was already late, and that it was impossible, after the distance they had gone, for the infantry and artillery to follow up. He considered also that it was important to put an end to this war, and that, if the enemy escaped this time, it might be continued longer than it ought. He moreover discovered a certain fear among the enemy, and he saw by their movements that they were disconcerted and taken by surprise; he therefore resolved to do his best with the cavalry he had with him. Consequently he ordered his General to advance and reconnoitre the enemy's position and movements.

The latter found them such that at the entrance of a wood (where their infantry were posted in good order with some artillery) he charged with Duke Maurice and the vanguard. The enemy's horse were broken, and carried dis-

order among the infantry, and those who escaped took to flight. As, owing to the swamp, their Majesties could not keep the main body in that order which they had maintained in the open country, they were obliged to follow the vanguard, which they did to keep up the habitual order, and to serve as a reinforcement and support if required. The enemy was pursued for nearly a good German mile; and when their Majesties pulled up, they were informed that Duke John Frederick had been taken prisoner.

42. THE *INTERIM* OF CHARLES V, 15 MAY, 1548

The rules laid down by Charles V after Mühlberg for the government of the Christian churches in his dominions until a free and general Council could pronounce were proclaimed at Augsburg while the Council of Trent was in abeyance. 'Unfortunately for its character as a compromise', wrote Bishop Stubbs, 'it contained nothing but Roman doctrine.' Five clauses from its twenty-sixth chapter, 'on ceremonies and the usage of the Sacraments', illustrate both the Emperor's desire to be moderate and the impossibility of Protestant reunion on such terms.

SOURCE—*Monumenta Tridentina*, iv, p. 32, as in Kidd, p. 359.

2. ALSO [as for Baptism] it seems good that nothing be changed in the ancient ceremonies practised . . . in the Mass. . . .

3. . . . In each town and in each church, even if there be more than one—having its own clergy and a sufficient congregation, two Masses at least ought to be celebrated every day, one early in the morning which manual workers can attend . . . and the second with music about eight in the forenoon. . . .

16. The accustomed fasts of the church are to be kept but not so as to constrain those whom necessity excuses, such as those exhausted by heavy toil, travellers, pregnant and nursing women, boys, aged persons and sick.

18. [In spite of St. Paul's pronouncement for celibacy, which should apply to Ordinands] since many clergy have married wives and are loath to put them away, let the decision of the General Council be awaited in the matter,

since as the times now are, no change can be made without serious disturbance.

21. [Likewise with regard to the usage of Communion in one kind or in both, those who practise either must not disturb the others, until the Council shall decide.]

43. THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG, 1555

The triumph of Charles V, symbolized by the deposition of the Elector of Saxony and by the Interim, *was soon followed by his downfall. Extract (i) expresses his impotence to put down Maurice of Saxony in 1552, and (ii) the chief clauses of the religious settlement which he was then compelled to concede.*

SOURCE—(i) Charles V, p. xxv. (ii) Kidd, pp. 363, 364.

(i) CHARLES V IN FLIGHT

I FIND myself actually without power or authority. I find myself obliged to abandon Germany, not having anyone to support me there, and so many opponents, and already the power in their hands. What a fine end I shall make in my old age! . . . Everything well considered, recommending myself to God, and placing myself in his hands; seeing at this hour the necessity of submitting myself either to a great disgrace or of placing myself in a great danger, I prefer the danger, as it is in the hand of God to remedy it, to the disgrace, which is so apparent.

(ii) THE AUGSBURG SETTLEMENT

In order to bring peace into the holy empire of the Germanic Nation, between the Roman Imperial Majesty and the Electors, Princes, and Estates: let neither his Imperial Majesty nor the Electors, Princes, etc., do any violence or harm to any estate of the Empire on account of the Augsburg Confession, but let them enjoy their religious belief, liturgy and ceremonies as well as their estates and other rights and privileges in peace; and complete religious peace shall be obtained only by Christian means of amity, or under threat of the punishment of the imperial ban.

Likewise the Estates espousing the Augsburg Confession

shall let all the Estates and Princes who cling to the old religion live in absolute peace and in the enjoyment of all their estates, rights and privileges.

However all such as do not belong to the two above-mentioned religions shall not be included in the present peace but be totally excluded from it. . . .

Where an archbishop, bishop, or prelate or any other priest of our old religion shall abandon the same, his archbishopric, bishopric, prelacy, and other benefices, together with all their income and revenues which he has so far possessed, shall be abandoned by him without any further objection or delay. The chapters and such as are entitled to it by common law or the custom of the place shall elect a person espousing the old religion, who may enter on the possession and enjoyment of all the rights and incomes of the place without any further hindrance and without prejudging any ultimate amicable settlement of religion. . . .

In case our subjects, whether belonging to the old religion or to the Augsburg Confession, should intend leaving their homes, with their wives and children, in order to settle in another place, they shall neither be hindered in the sale of their estates after due payment of the local taxes nor injured in their honour. . . .

(*b*) ZWINGLI

44. THE SWISS REFORMERS AND THE ANABAPTISTS, 1526

Any presumption that the Reformed Churches would extend toleration to dissidents within their jurisdiction was early and generally disproved by such decrees as this.

SOURCE—Translation, Kidd, p. 455.

WHEREAS our Lords the Burgomaster, Council, and Great Council, have for some time past earnestly endeavoured to turn the misguided and erring Anabaptists from their errors; and yet several . . . to the injury of the public authority and the magistrates as well as to the ruin of the common welfare and of right Christian living, have proved

disobedient; and several of them, men, women, and girls, have been by our Lords sharply punished and put into prison: Now therefore, by the earnest commandment, edict, and warning of our Lords aforesaid, it is ordered that no one in our town, country, or domains, whether man, woman, or girl, shall baptize another: and if any one hereafter shall baptize another, he will be seized by our Lords and, according to the decree now set forth, will be drowned without mercy.

(*c*) CALVIN

45. THE CALVINISTIC CONSTITUTION FOR THE CHURCH AT GENEVA, 1541

SOURCE—Herminjard, VII. Kidd, p. 591.

As to the clergy, whom the Scripture also names sometimes as elders and ministers, their duty is to announce the word of God, to instruct, admonish, exhort, and rebuke in public as well as in private, to administer the sacraments and make brotherly reproofs with the elders and deacons (comys).

Now in order that nothing may be done in a confused way in the Church, no one must intrude into this office without being called thereto, for which there must be considered three things: (I) the examination, which is the chief thing. Afterwards (II) it has to be decided who should institute the ministers. Thirdly (III) It must be decided what ceremony or procedure is best for installing them in office.

(I) The examination has two parts of which the first (*a*) concerns the doctrine, and is to find out whether the candidate has a good and sound knowledge of the Scriptures. And then if he is suitable and fit to communicate his knowledge to the people for their edification.

Also to avoid all danger of any bad opinion in him whom we would receive, he should affirm that he receives and holds the doctrine approved by the Church.

To know if he is fit to teach, it will be necessary to inter-

rogate him, and hear him discourse in private on the doctrine of the Lord.

(*b*) The second part concerns his life, to know if his morals are good and if he has always controlled himself without reproach. The rule of procedure is very well shown by St. Paul, and must be adhered to.

(II) Next follows the question of who should appoint the clergy. It will be good in this to follow the order of the ancient Church, seeing that it is only practising that which the Scriptures show us. It is that the ministers should elect first him who will be installed in office. Afterwards he should be presented to the Council. And if he be found worthy, that the Council should receive and accept him, testifying to him that they will produce him finally to the people at the time of the service, in order that he may be received by the common consent of the company of the faithful. If he be found unworthy and proved to be so by legitimate probation, then a fresh election must be proceeded with in order to obtain another.

(III) As to the manner of the introduction, it would be well to use the laying on of hands, which ceremony was used by the apostles, and then in the ancient church, provided that it be done without superstition and without offence. But because there has been much superstition in times past, and a scandal might arise out of it, we are abstaining from it because of the weakness of the present time.

46. CALVIN ON PREDESTINATION

Although it was inspiration and organization rather than doctrine that made Calvinism great, 'that Absolute-Decree notion, according to which a man is appointed from all eternity either to salvation or the opposite', has usually been regarded as its outstanding feature. Although Calvin did not invent predestination, he taught it with full conviction of its truth. Cp. p. 81 below.

SOURCE—Calvini Opera, II. Translation, T. Norton. Robinson, 127–9.

WE must be content with this,—that such gifts as it pleased the Lord to have bestowed upon the nature of man he

vested in Adam ; and therefore when Adam lost them after he had received them, he lost them not only from himself but also from us all. . . . Therefore from a rotten root rose up rotten branches, which sent their rottenness into the twigs that sprang out of them ; for so were the children corrupted in their father that they in turn infected their children. . . .

And the apostle Paul himself expressly witnesseth that therefore death came upon all men, because all men have sinned and are wrapped in original sin and defiled with the spots thereof. And therefore the very infants themselves, since they bring with them their own damnation from their mothers' womb, are bound not by another's but by their own fault. For although they have not as yet brought forth the fruits of their own iniquity, yet they have the seeds thereof inclosed within them ; yea, their whole nature is a certain seed of sin, therefore it cannot but be hateful and abominable to God. . . . This perversity never ceaseth in us but continually bringeth forth new fruits, even the same works of the flesh, like as a burning furnace bloweth out flame and sparkles. . . .

Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, whereby he has determined with himself what he wills to become of every man. For all are not created to like estate ; but to some eternal life and to some eternal damnation is foreordained. Therefore as every man is created to the one or the other end, so we say that he is predestinate either to life or to death. . . . Foolish men do divers ways quarrel with God, as though they had him subject to their accusations. First, therefore, they ask by what right is the Lord angry with his creatures by whom he hath not first been provoked by any offence ; for to condemn to destruction whom he will agreeth rather with the willfulness of a tyrant than with the lawful sentence of a judge. Therefore they say that there is cause why men should accuse God if by his forewill, without their own deserving, they be predestinate to eternal death. If such thoughts do at any time come into the mind of the godly, this shall suffice to break their

violent assaults, although they have nothing more, if they consider how great wickedness it is even so much as to inquire of the causes of the will of God. . . . For the will of God is the highest rule of righteousness, that whatsoever he willeth, even for this that he willeth it, ought to be taken for righteous.

47. THE BURNING OF SERVETUS, 1553

SOURCE—Kidd, p. 647.

MICHAEL SERVETUS having been recognized by certain of the brethren, it was found good to imprison him in order that he should no longer infect the world with his blasphemies and heresies, seeing that he was known by all to be incorrigible and beyond hope. Thereupon a criminal action was brought against him and articles brought forward containing a collection of his most notable errors. . . . Finally, their lordships . . . commanded that he should make a summary of the erroneous and heretical propositions contained in his books, and that . . . we should briefly point out the falseness of his opinions, in order that the whole might be sent to the neighbouring churches for their advice.

27 October, 1553.—Their lordships having received the advice of the Churches of Berne, Basel, Zürich and Schaffhausen . . . condemned the said Servetus to be taken to Champey and there to be burned alive. This was done, without Servetus at his death showing any sign of repenting of his errors.

48. THE CONFESSION OF 1559

SOURCE—Kidd, p. 668.

ARTICLE 5. We believe that the word contained in these books [*i.e.* the Canonical Scriptures] proceeded from God, from whom alone it takes its authority, and not from men. And inasmuch as it is the rule of all truth, containing all that is necessary for the service of God and our salvation, it is not lawful for men, nor even for the angels, to add to it, take from it or change it. From this it follows that neither

antiquity, nor custom, nor the multitude, nor human wisdom, nor judgments, nor ordinances, nor edicts, nor decrees, nor councils, nor visions, nor miracles, may be set up against Holy Scripture ; on the contrary all things must be examined, ordered and reformed in accordance with them. And therefore we acknowledge the three creeds, Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian, because they are in conformity with the Word of God.

(*d*) POLAND

49. THE AGREEMENT OF SANDOMIR, 14 APRIL, 1570

Polish decentralization had made easy the progress of new doctrines, and in 1570 it seemed as though this was to lead towards toleration. The Agreement or Union (consensus) made between Lutherans and Calvinists at Sandomir was destined, however, to prove short-lived, and the Jesuit triumph followed.

SOURCE—Kidd, p. 658.

AFTER frequent conflicts with sectarians, anti-Trinitarians, and Anabaptists, having by the grace of God at length emerged from these numerous and great conflicts and this deplorable strife, it seemed best to both the Reformed and the Orthodox Polish Churches, zealous for peace and concord, to call together an assembly and to witness their mutual agreement (consensionem) and their abhorrences of certain chapters and formulas of doctrine hostile to the truth and Gospel. Wherefore having held a friendly and Christian discussion, we agreed . . .

First, both we who in the present assembly have set forth our belief, and the Bohemian Brethren, never believed that those who embrace the Confession of Augsburg think otherwise than with piety and orthodoxy about God and the Holy Trinity and the incarnation of the Son of God and our justification and the other chief points in our belief. So also those who follow the Augsburg Confession amply professed that they on their side recognized both in the creed of our churches and that of the Bohemian Brethren (whom

some in ignorance call Waldenses) about the same verities nothing discordant with orthodox truth and the pure word of God. Then we by turns sacredly vowed that we would defend this mutual agreement according to the rules laid down by the word of God, in the true and pure religion of Christ, against Papalists, sectarians, and all the enemies of the Gospel and of the truth.

[A declaration follows regarding the Lord's Supper: 'the substantial presence of Christ is not merely signified but truly represented' to the participants.]

(*e*) SWEDEN

50. GUSTAVUS I AND THE DIET, 1527

In Sweden, more than in Denmark, though less than in Norway, Lutheranism was adopted for reasons of state rather than on account of a desire for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses or of doctrine. The compelling will was that of Gustavus I, a successful rebel against Christian II of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and the founder of the Vasa dynasty. The decisive moment came at the Diet of Vesterås in 1527, when the King overcame the opposition of the prelates and nobles by a gesture of abdication: (i) represents his decisive speech, (ii) the popular temper according to the chronicles.

Source—Geijer, (i) p. 117; (ii) p. 119.

(i) The King's Decisive Speech

Then have we no will longer to be your king. From you we had expected another answer, but now we cannot wonder that the common people should give us all manner of disobedience and misliking, when they have such ring-leaders. Get they not rain, the fault is ours; if sunshine fail them, 'tis the same cry; if bad years, hunger, and pest come, so must we bear the blame. All of ye will be our masters; monks and priests, and creatures of the Pope ye set over our heads, and for all our toils for your welfare, we have no other reward to expect, than that you would gladly see the axe at our neck, yet none of you but grasp its handle. Such guerdon we can as well want as any of you. Who would be your king on such terms? Not the worst fiend in hell, much less a man. Therefore look to it, that

you release me fairly from the government, and restore me that which I have disbursed from my own stock for the general weal; then will I depart, and never see again my ungrateful fatherland.

(ii) The People's Temper

The king might labour as much as he would that they might bear goodwill to him and his labours, yet it was of no avail. The reason was, that he had so few upright servants, with understanding and will to order his affairs for the best, nor could he obtain such before the popish creed was mostly rooted out. Never would the Dalesmen have been so lightly brought to revolt, nor the West-Gothlanders and Smålanders beside, if they had not cherished a perverse opinion of the king, that he wished to suppress the Christian faith. With such charges did the old folk, and especially old priests, fill the ears of the common people, so that did the king show himself mild or harsh, it was taken alike ill. If he discoursed pleasantly, they cried that he wished to tickle them with the hare's foot; if he spoke sharply, they then said, that for all their taxes and burdens they had naught else to expect from him but reproaches and bad words, and that he would undo them and the whole kingdom. With the provinces which remained quiet it was mostly feigning, for they did it out of fear, because they heard how with strong hand he had compelled the Dalesmen and Norrlanders to obedience.

(*f*) ENGLAND

51. THE ACT OF SUPREMACY, 1534

The establishment in England of a reformed church which was neither Lutheran nor Calvinist had such momentous effects upon Continental history as well as upon our own that the steps which led up to it must be closely scanned. The character, political not doctrinal, of Henry VIII's Reformation here appears clearly.

Source—Tanner, p. 47.

Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and so is

recognized by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations; yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of Supreme Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining: And that our said Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conversation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

IV

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

(*a*) THE CATHOLIC REACTION

52. CARDINAL DE RETZ ON CONCLAVES, *c.* 1670

Under the stimulus of a great secession, the papacy and its followers engaged in a widespread and drastic reform which is often called comprehensively the Counter-Reformation. The principle of Christian unity was a great one, and the evidences of Protestant divisions and intolerance helped on the natural reaction in favour of historic Rome. A new enthusiasm for the old faith appeared on many sides, and improvement was visible no less in the assemblies which elected the popes than in the popes themselves.

SOURCE—Ranke, *F.G.*, V, p. 226.

I CAN say with truth that I have never seen, in any of the Conclaves at which I have been present, any Cardinal or member lose control of himself; I have indeed seen very few of them grow warm. It is rare to hear a raised voice or to see an angry face. I have often tried to find some difference in the look of those who had just been defeated, and I can say with truth that, with one single exception, I have never found any. So remote is even the suspicion of those revenges, with which Italy is usually wrongly charged, that it is even common enough for an opponent to drink at dinner the wine which the candidate whom he has defeated that morning has just sent him. In a word I dare say that there is nothing more wise or grand than the ordinary scene in a Conclave. I know well that the procedure practised there since the Bull of

Gregory contributes greatly to regulate it ; but it must be admitted that only Italians are capable of observing this order with as much decorum as is necessary.

(*b*) THE INQUISITION AND THE INDEX

53. AUTO-DA-FÉ IN SEVILLE, 1569

The ' acts of faith ' in Spain, following upon trials by the Inquisition, show the grimmest side of the Counter-Reformation.

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, pp. 9, 10.

SEVILLE, 13 May, 1569. The Auto of which I have already written, was held here to-day. Seventy people were punished, of whom two Burgundians, a Frenchman, and a Netherlander were burnt. The others were for the most part evil-looking men of the Spanish rabble—to wit, blasphemers and such as had married twice or more. There were also some amongst them who held common fornication for no sin. Likewise some of the Jewish and Mohammedan faiths.

54. THE INQUISITION AT VENICE, 1573

One of the sharpest weapons in the hands of the Pope was that board of faith which was set up at Rome and known as the Inquisition. Its relations with the Renaissance are illustrated by the trial of a famous painter, who did not comply with the sentence which it pronounced.

SOURCE—Trans. Yriate, *apud* Crawford, II, p. 29.

REPORT OF THE SITTING OF THE TRIBUNAL OF THE INQUISITION ON SATURDAY, JULY EIGHTEENTH, 1573

THIS day, July eighteenth, 1573. Called to the Holy Office before the sacred tribunal, Paolo Galliari Veronese, residing in the parish of Saint Samuel, and being asked as to his name and surname replied as above.

Being asked as to his profession :

Answer. I paint and make figures.

Question. Do you know the reasons why you have been called here?

A. No.

Q. Can you imagine what those reasons may be?

A. I can well imagine.

Q. Say what you think about them.

A. I fancy that it concerns what was said to me by the reverend fathers, or rather by the prior of the monastery of San Giovanni e Paolo, whose name I did not know, but who informed me that he had been here, and that your Most Illustrious Lordships had ordered him to cause to be placed in the picture a Magdalen instead of the dog; and I answered him that very readily I would do all that was needful for my reputation and for the honour of the picture; but that I did not understand what this figure of the Magdalen could be doing here.

Q. In this Supper . . . what signifies the figure of him whose nose is bleeding?

A. He is a servant who has a nose-bleed from some accident.

Q. What signify those armed men dressed in the fashion of Germany, with halberds in their hands?

A. It is necessary here that I should say a score of words.

Q. Say them.

A. We painters use the same license as poets and madmen, and I represented those halberdiers, the one drinking, the other eating at the foot of the stairs, but both ready to do their duty, because it seemed to me suitable and possible that the master of the house, who as I have been told was rich and magnificent, should have such servants.

Q. And the one who is dressed as jester with a parrot on his wrist, why did you put him into the picture?

A. He is there as an ornament, as it is usual to insert such figures.

Q. Who are the persons at the table of Our Lord?

A. The twelve apostles.

Q. What is Saint Peter doing, who is the first?

A. He is carving the lamb, in order to pass it to the other table.

Q. What is he doing who comes next?

A. He holds a plate to see what Saint Peter will give him.

Q. Tell us what the third is doing.

A. He is picking his teeth with his fork.

Q. And who are really the persons whom you admit to have been present at this Supper?

A. I believe that there was only Christ and his apostles; but when I have some space left in a picture I adorn it with figures of my own invention.

Q. Did some person order you to paint Germans, buffoons, and other similar figures in this picture?

A. No, but I was commissioned to adorn it as I thought proper.

* * * * *

The judges pronounced that the aforesaid Paolo should be obliged to correct his picture within three months from the date of the reprimand, according to the judgments and the decision of the Sacred Court, and altogether at the expense of the said Paolo.

55. PROHIBITION OF THE BIBLE BY SIXTUS V, 1590

The policy of the Index, i.e. an official list of books, passages or authors to be left unread, was systematized after the Council of Trent, and received perhaps its most striking illustration in the brief decree by the greatest of popes which is here quoted. During the Reformation period the Bible had been the origin or defence for many disorders. The result of Index policy was to widen the intellectual breach between Catholic and Protestant states. 'Freedom of speech and sincerity of history were abolished for many years.' (Acton.)

SOURCE—Mirbt, p. 353.

THE holy books or parts of them, even when issued by a Catholic for common use in any language, are never allowed without the fresh and special leave of the apostolic see. Common paraphrases are wholly forbidden.

(c) THE JESUITS

56. THE EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS, *c.* 1543

The Society or Company of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola, embodied the impulse of the age towards religious orders, but was organized so skilfully as to form a mighty propagandist force which swayed the Council of Trent and powerfully affected the history of Europe. In the training of men to develop their powers and suppress their personality for the advancement of their faith it resembled the Bolshevist organization. The inspiration and ideas of the first Jesuits find their best illustration in Loyola's own manual for their use.

SOURCES—Loyola, (i) pp. 146–155; (ii) pp. 173–184.

(i)

SOME rules for the discerning of the motions of the soul which different spirits excite, in order that the good ones alone may be admitted, and the evil ones driven away. It must be observed, that they suit more especially the Exercises of the First Week.

* * * * *

The third, that spiritual consolation, properly so called, is then known to be present, when, by a certain internal motion, the soul burns up with the love of her Creator, and can no longer love any creature except for His sake. Also when there are shed tears stirring up that love, whether they flow from grief concerning sins, or from meditation on the Passion of Christ, or from any other cause whatsoever, which is rightly ordered to the worship and honour of God. Lastly, any increase of faith, hope, and charity, may be called a consolation: also every joy which is wont to stir up the soul to the meditation of heavenly things, to the desire of salvation, to the possession of rest and peace with the Lord.

* * * * *

The twelfth, that our enemy resembles the nature and habit of a woman, as to weakness of strength and obstinacy of spirit. For as a woman contending with a man, if she sees him resist with an erect and firm countenance, immediately loses courage and turns her back; but if she

perceives him to be timid and cowardly, rises to the utmost audacity, and attacks him fiercely ; in like manner is the demon accustomed to lose altogether his spirit and strength, as often as he sees the spiritual athlete with a fearless heart and lofty forehead resist his temptations : but if he is alarmed when the first attacks are to be endured, and gives way as it were to despair, there is then no beast on the earth more infuriated than that enemy, more fierce, and more pertinacious against man, to fulfil, to our destruction, the desire of his malignant and obstinate mind.

(ii)

Some rules to be observed, in order that we may think with the Orthodox Church.

The first, removing all judgment of one's own, one must always keep one's mind prepared and ready to obey the true Spouse of Christ, and our holy Mother, which is the Orthodox, Catholic and Hierarchical Church.

The second, it is proper to commend the confession which is accustomed to be made of sins to the Priest, and the receiving of the Eucharist at least once a year, it being more commendable to receive the same Sacrament every eighth day, or at least once in each month, observing at the same time the due conditions.

The third, to commend to Christ's faithful people, that they frequently and devoutly hear the holy rite or sacrifice of the Mass ; also the saying of the Church hymns, the psalms, and long prayers, either within the Churches or outside of them : also to approve the hours marked out for the divine offices and for prayers of whatever kind, as are what we call the Canonical hours.

The fourth, to praise very much the Orders of Religion, and set celibacy and virginity before marriage.

The fifth, to approve the vows of Religious concerning the observance of chastity, poverty, and perpetual obedience, with the other works of perfection and supererogation. And here it must be noted in passing, that when a vow relates to those things which rather turn away from the

same perfection, as concerning traffic, or matrimony, a vow is never to be made.

The sixth, to praise moreover relics, the veneration and invocation of Saints: also the stations, and pious pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees, the candles accustomed to be lighted in the Churches, and the other helps of this kind to our piety and devotion.

The seventh, to praise the use of abstinence and fasts as those of Lent, of the Ember Days, of the Vigils, of the Friday, of the Saturday, and of others undertaken out of devotion: also voluntary afflictions of one's self, which we call penances, not merely internal, but external also.

The eighth, to praise moreover the construction of Churches, and ornaments; also images, as to be venerated with the fullest right, for the sake of what they represent.

The ninth, to uphold especially all the precepts of the Church, and not impugn them in any manner; but, on the contrary, defend them promptly, with reasons drawn from all sources, against those who do impugn them.

The tenth, also to approve zealously the decrees, mandates, traditions, rites and manners of the Fathers or Superiors. It is mischievous to attack and revile to the people those in authority when absent; on the other hand, to admonish privately those who can remedy this evil, seems worth the while.

The eleventh, to put the highest value on the sacred teaching, both the Positive and the Scholastic, as they are commonly called. . . . The modern Divines . . . are not merely endowed with the understanding of the Sacred Scripture, and assisted by the writings of the old authors; but also, with the influx of the Divine light, use happily, for the help of our salvation, the determinations of Councils, the decrees and various constitutions of holy Church.

The twelfth, it is a thing to be blamed and avoided to compare men who are still living on the earth (however worthy of praise) with the Saints and Blessed, saying: This man is more learned than St. Augustine. That man is

another St. Francis : He is equal to St. Paul in holiness, or some virtue, he is not inferior, etc.

The thirteenth, finally, that we may be altogether of the same mind and in conformity with the Church herself, if she shall have defined anything to be black which to our eyes appears to be white, we ought in like manner to pronounce it to be black. For we must undoubtingly believe, that the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Spirit of the Orthodox Church His Spouse, by which Spirit we are governed and directed to Salvation, is the same ; and that the God Who of old delivered the precepts of the Decalogue is the same Who now instructs and governs the Hierarchical Church.

The fourteenth, it must also be borne in mind, that although it be most true, that no one is saved, but he that is predestinated, yet we must speak with circumspection concerning this matter, lest perchance stretching too far the grace or predestination of God, we should seem to wish to shut out the force of free will and the merits of good works ; or on the other hand, attributing to these latter more than belongs to them, we derogate meanwhile from the former.

The fifteenth, for the like reason we should not speak on the subject of predestination frequently ; if it occur occasionally, we ought so to temper what we say as to give the people who hear no occasion of erring and saying, If it is already determined concerning my salvation or damnation, whether I do ill or well, it cannot happen differently, whence many are wont to neglect good works. . . .

The sixteenth, it also happens not unfrequently, that from immoderate preaching and praise of faith, without distinction or explanation added, the people seize a handle to be torpid concerning any good works, which precede faith, or follow it when formed by the bond of charity.

The seventeenth, nor any more must we push to such a point the preaching and inculcating of the grace of God, as that there may creep thence into the minds of the hearers the deadly error of denying the faculty of our free will.

Concerning grace itself, therefore, it is allowable indeed to speak diffusely, God inspiring us, but so far as redounds to His more abundant glory, and that after a fitting manner, especially in our so dangerous times; lest both the use of free will and the efficacy of good works be taken away.

The eighteenth, although it is in the highest degree praiseworthy and useful to serve God from pure love, yet the fear of the divine Majesty is greatly to be commended. And not that fear only which we call filial, which is the most pious and holy, but also the other which is called servile . . . that when we happen to fall into mortal sin we may endeavour to rise again promptly from it: from which while we are free, the ascent will the more easily open to us to the filial fear, entirely acceptable to God, which gives to us the union of love with God Himself.

57. THE SOVEREIGNS AND THE ORDER

An international secret society demanding the complete obedience of its members could not fail to arouse the jealousy of sovereigns, even including, sooner or later, the Pope, whom the Jesuits were organized to serve. Heretic sovereigns were of course the objects of their special attention. Thus:

(i)

Queen Elizabeth (1586) *writes to King James VI of Scotland, on the eve of the proceedings at Fotheringay against his mother, in reply to his congratulations on the Queen's escape from the Babington conspiracy.*

SOURCE—Bruce, p. 38.

I . . . DO render you many loving thanks for the joy you take of my narrow escape from the jaws of death, to which I might easily have fallen, but that the hand of the Highest saved me from that snare.

And for that . . . that design rose up from the wicked suggestion of the Jesuits, which made it an acceptable sacrifice to God, and meritorious to themselves, that a king not of their profession should be murdered, therefore I could keep my pen no longer from discharging my care of

your person, that you suffer not such vipers to inhabit your land. They say you gave leave under your hand that they might safely come and go. For God's love regard your surety above all persuasions, and account him no subject that entertains them. Make not edicts for scorn, but to be observed. Let them be rebels, and so pronounced, that preserve them. . . .

(ii)

Henry IV of France gives the following account of his motives in a letter to James I.

Source—Grant, p. 183.

To persecute so powerful a company would be to drive many superstitious spirits into plots against myself, to disappoint a great number of Catholics, and to give them a pretext for causing new trouble in my kingdom. . . .

I thought too that if I left the Jesuits some hope of being recalled, I should divert and prevent them from yielding themselves entirely to the ambitious plans of the King of Spain, and in this I did not miscalculate.

(*d*) THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1545–63

58. PHASES OF THE COUNCIL

When, at last, the papal policy so far coincided with the imperial that a Council of the church was convoked, the time at which schism could be healed had long gone by. Political conditions, moreover, changed greatly during the nineteen years within which the three separate sessions fell. The outcome, largely the work of the Jesuits, was a militant Roman Catholic church, appreciably reformed and centralized, with the Pope definitely established as God's vicegerent on earth, and entrusted with the task of reconquering the seceders.

The following extracts from the work of the famous Venetian patriot and church reformer, whose criticisms of the papal pretensions almost led to his assassination, illustrate the divergences of opinion within the Council; its difficulties, political and doctrinal; the tactics which brought about the papal victory; and the mood of the victors at the close.

Source—(i) Sarpi, pp. 142, 143. (ii) Sarpi, pp. 530, 531. (iii) Sarpi, p. 551. (iv) Sarpi, pp. 576, 577

(i) 18 JANUARY, 1546

THE Imperialists said that the points of doctrine could not be touched with hope of any fruit, because it was first necessary to remove the transgressions, from whence the heresies arose, by a good reformation, enlarging themselves very much in this field, and concluding that so long as the scandal which the world receiveth, by the deformation of the clergy, ceaseth not, nothing that they can say or preach will ever be believed, all being persuaded that deeds ought to be regarded, and not words. And that they ought not to take example by the ancient councils, because in them either there was not corruption of manners, or that was not cause of heresy; and in fine, that to defer the treaty of reformation, was to show themselves incorrigible. Some few others thought fit to begin with doctrine, and then to pass to reformation, alleging that faith is the ground and foundation of Christian life; that no man begins to build from the roof, but from the foundations; that it is a greater sin to err in faith than in other human actions; and that the point of rooting out heresies was put first in the Pope's bulls. A third opinion was, that the points of reformation and faith might ill be separated, because there was no doctrine without abuse, nor abuse which drew not after it the bad interpretation and bad sense of some doctrine. Therefore it was necessary to handle them at the same time, for that the world having their eyes fixed upon this Council and expecting a remedy as well in matters of faith as manners, it would be satisfied better by handling them both together, than one after another, especially if, according to the proposition of the Cardinal of Monte, divers deputations were made, and one handled this matter, and the other that, which should be done quickly, considering that the time present, when Christendom had peace, was precious, and not to be lost, not knowing what impediments the time to come might bring. And the rather, because they should study to make the Council as short as they could, that the churches the less while might remain deprived of their pastors, and for many other respects, intimating that which

might arise in length of time, to the distaste of the pope and court of Rome. Some others, among whom were the Frenchmen, demanded, that that of the peace might be the first: that they should write unto the emperor, the most christian king, and other princes, giving them thanks for the convocation of the council, for continuance whereof that they would establish peace, and help the work forward, by sending their ambassadors and prelates; and likewise should write friendly to the Lutherans, inviting them charitably to come at the Council, and join themselves with the rest of Christendom.

(ii) 3 July, 1562

The legates were astonished at the proposition of the Frenchmen,[1] understanding they were joined with the Imperialists, for which cause themselves were to walk more warily. And weighing well the motives of the Frenchmen to derogate from the positive precepts, they observed that the grant of the cup, besides the difficulties proposed, did draw with it many more, in divers matters. They remembered the request for marriage of priests, made by the Bavarian, and that Lausac, in a feast, two days before, in the presence of many prelates invited, exhorting them to gratify the Emperor in the petition of the cup, said, that France did desire prayers, divine offices and masses in the vulgar tongue, that the images of the saints should be taken away, and marriage granted to priests; and knowing that the beginning is more easily resisted than the progress, and that one may, with less pains, be hindered from entering an house, than driven forth, they resolved that it was not a fit time to treat of the cup.

(iii) August, 1562

They [the Spaniards] wrote a common letter to the king, in answer of that which his Majesty had written to the

[1] To grant the cup to laymen, or at least respect the usage of France, where the King received it at Coronation and some monasteries at certain times.

Marquis of Pescara ; first complaining of the Pope, for not suffering the point of residence [1] to be decided, in which all the reformation of the church is to be grounded ; and with a very fair and reverend manner of speech, they concluded there was no liberty in the Council ; that the Italians did overcome with plurality of voices, of which some for pensions, some for promises, and those who were left corrupted for fear, did obey the will of his Holiness.

(iv) September, 1562

Afterwards the decree for the grant of the cup was read ; of this tenor. That the Synod having reserved to itself the examination and definition of two articles, concerning the communion of the cup, in the former session, hath now determined to defer the whole business to the Pope, who, in his singular wisdom, may do what he thinketh profitable for the christian commonwealth, and for the good of those who demand it. This Decree, as it was approved in the congregations by the major part only, so it happened in the session, where, beside those who contradicted, because they thought the cup could not be granted for any cause ; there were some who required that the matter should be deferred, and examined again. To whom the Speaker answered, in the name of the Legates, that consideration should be had of it. And finally, the next session was intimated for the twelfth of November, to determine concerning the sacraments of Orders and Matrimony. And the Synod was dismissed, after the usual manner, great discourses between the fathers about the communion of the cup continuing still. Concerning which, some perhaps will be curious to know, for what cause the Decree, last recited, was not put after that of the mass, as the matter seemeth to require, but in a place where it hath no connexion or likeness with the articles preceding. He may know that there was a general maxim in that council, that to establish a decree of reformation a major part of voices was sufficient, but that a decree of

[1] The sacred duty of bishops to reside within their sees.

faith could not be made, if a considerable part did contradict. Therefore the legates, knowing that hardly more than half would consent to this of the chalice, did resolve to make it an article of reformation, and to place it the last among those, to show plainly that they held it to be of that rank. There were also many discourses at that time, and some days after, about the point decided, that Christ offered himself to the supper, some saying that, in regard to the three and twenty contradictors, it was not lawfully decided, and others answering that an eighth part could not be called a considerable, or notable part. There were some also who maintained that the maxim had place only in the anathematisms, and in the substance of the doctrine ; and not in every clause which is put in for better expression, as this, which is not mentioned in the Canons.

The Emperor's ambassadors were very glad for the Decree of the cup, being assured that his Majesty would more easily obtain it of the Pope, and upon more favourable conditions, than it could have been obtained in the Council, where, for the variety of opinions and interests, it is hard to make many to be of one mind, though in a good and necessary matter. The greater part overcometh the better, and he that opposeth hath always the advantage of him that promoteth. And their hope was the greater, because the Pope seemed before to have favoured their petition. But the Emperor had not the same opinion, aiming not to obtain the communion of the cup absolutely, but to pacify the people of his own states and of Germany, who being distasted with the Pope's authority for the things past, could not relish anything well that proceeded from him ; whereas if they had obtained this grant immediately from the Council, it would have given them good satisfaction and bred an opinion in them, that they might have obtained other requests which they esteemed ; so that this motion being stopped, and the infected ministers cashiered, he did hope he might have held them in the catholic communion. He saw, by former experience, that the grant of Paul [of the lay chalice] was not well received, and did more hurt than

good ; and, for this cause, he did prosecute the instance no further with the Pope, and declared the cause of it. Therefore when he received news of the Decree of the Council, turning to some prelates who were with him, he said, I have done all I can to save my people, now look you unto it, whom it doth more concern.

(v) Acclamations of the Fathers at the Close, 4 December, 1563

After transacting business, which included the upholding of Indulgences and the condemnation of their abuse, the Council concluded its labours with a litany of militant self-confidence.

Source—Waterworth, p. 282.

The Cardinal of Lorraine. The sacred and holy œcumenical Synod of Trent : let us confess the faith thereof, let us ever keep the decrees thereof.

Answer of the Fathers. Ever let us confess [it], ever keep [them].

Cardinal. We all thus believe ; we all think the very same ; we all, consenting and embracing (them), subscribe. This is the faith of blessed Peter and of the Apostles ; this is the faith of the Fathers ; this is the faith of the Orthodox.

Answer. Thus we believe ; thus we think ; thus we subscribe.

Cardinal. To these decrees adhering may we be made worthy of the mercies and grace of the first and great priest, Jesus Christ, God ; our inviolate Lady, the holy mother of God, also interceding, and all the Saints.

Answer. So be it ; so be it. Amen, Amen.

Cardinal. Anathema to all heretics.

Answer. Anathema, anathema.

V

THE WARS OF RELIGION

(*a*) FRANCE

59. FRANCIS I TO THE *PARLEMENT*, 10 DECEMBER, 1533

This letter marks one of the alternations of French policy towards persecution and led to the flight of Calvin from France.

SOURCE—Herminjard, iii, p. 440. Kidd, p. 526.

. . . WE are very grieved and displeased that in our good town of Paris, the head and capital of our Kingdom, and where there is the chief University of Christendom, this accursed, heretic, Lutheran sect swarms, so that many may be led astray, which we will with all our might and power avert, without sparing anyone whatsoever. And for this we wish and intend that such severe punishment be given, that these accursed heretics may be corrected and made an example to all.

For this cause we command you, and enjoin most expressly that you appoint some among you to set aside all else and enquire assiduously and diligently concerning all those of this Lutheran sect, both those who are suspected or strongly suspected, and those who hold to it and follow its precepts, so that you may proceed against them, sparing no one, by arresting them in whatever place they may be found, and against fugitives, after three short days, by taking their goods and establishing commissaries. And as to those who have been made prisoners, who are charged with blasphemy, proceed to their punishment according to the exigency of the case. . . .

60. FRANCE UNDER HENRY II AND CATHERINE DE MEDICI

Under Henry II (1547–59), *a king who had imbibed Spanish ideas while a hostage for his father after Pavia, the French monarchy turned towards religious persecution and the Civil Wars followed.*

Sources—(i) De Saulx, I, p. 410. (ii) De Saulx, II, 317.

(i) Henry and Persecution

King Henry II had the same defects as his predecessor, with a more feeble mind, and the reign may be called the reign of the Constable, of Madame de Valentinois and of M. de Guise, rather than his. He is the source of the miseries of France, since he gave to two houses alone the offices, honours, finances, and governorships of his realm. There were to be found at one time in one of these houses, a constable, a grand master of France, an admiral, a colonel of infantry, the governors of Guienne, Languedoc, l'Isle de France, and Provence, the capitaineries of the Bastille, the Forests of Vincennes, the forts of Boulogne, while its friends possessed thirty companies of men-at-arms; and in the other house were the governorships of Burgundy, and of Champagne, the controller of the galleys, a colonel of light cavalry, the patronage of many royal lieutenancies, and twenty companies of men-at-arms. Nobody could approach the King save through one of these two houses; all was given and taken away by them, and every day they asked for rewards and punishments, it being a maxim that kings who had made people so great can then refuse them nothing, for the fear they have of them, and lest they should lose that which they have bestowed there and the good which they have done to them. And it seemed as though the King had conspired with them to divide France between them, to the ruin of his children and his kingdom, which would have taken place if not in his reign, then shortly after, had not the enmity of those houses broken loose and dissipated the preparations of his lifetime.

(ii) The Edict of January, 1562

On the eve of the final session of the Council of Trent, both France and the Empire were finding their Protestants hard to subdue. Catherine de Medici, the Queen-mother, therefore deemed it politic to grant temporary toleration.

By the advice of Condé, the three brothers of Chastillon and the Huguenots, the Queen held an assembly of councillors favourable to them. In this assembly, in the year 1562, the Edict of January was decided on, allowing preaching everywhere, and granting freedom of conscience. As soon as this step had been taken, the Queen-mother, woman-like, grew alarmed, but the Huguenots restored her resolution by their representations that the time to draw back had gone by, that she had committed herself too far, and so made her resolve, which was done by the *Parlement* of Paris, followed by the other sovereign courts of France.

61. THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. 24 AUGUST, 1572

The most famous of the 'blood-baths' of modern times instantly reacted upon the cause of the rebels in the Netherlands, and left an enduring impression upon the politics and the morale of France. 'It was not a thing long and carefully prepared, . . . but for ten years the Court had regarded a wholesale massacre as the last resource of monarchy. . . . In the provinces, in five towns the victims amounted to between 100 and 700. . . . For the whole of France . . . no evidence takes us as high as 8,000.' (Acton.)

Sources—De Thou, VI. (i) p. 395. (ii) De Thou. Translation, Robinson, p. 181. (iii) De Thou, VI, p. 437. (iv) Report of the Cardinal of Como. Italian original and German translation in Mirbt, p. 349.

(i) The Preparation

Guise, to whom the execution of the scheme had been entrusted, sent for the leaders of the Swiss from the five Catholic cantons and some of the French colonels very early in the night and, having informed them of the King's orders, added: 'The time has come to punish this rebel hated by God and man and to exterminate all his partisans: the animal is in the toils, do not let it escape. Profit by so

splendid an opportunity of crushing the enemies of the Kingdom: the glory of the triumphs in past wars which have cost the faithful subjects of the King so much blood is nothing to that which you can win to-day.'

After speaking thus he posted the Swiss and some of the French companies around the Louvre, with orders not to allow any of the servants of the King of Navarre or of the prince of Condé to leave it. [Likewise for Coligny's house.] He then sent for President Jean Charon . . . and ordered him to tell the Captains of the quarters to arm their companies and to go to the Town Hall at midnight for orders. Marcel was also told to go to the Town Hall although he no longer held any post but because he was known to be held in esteem by the Queen whom he had secretly served, and it was he who announced on behalf of the King that the King allowed them to take up arms, that his intention was that they should exterminate Coligny and his party, that they should take care that none of his band should escape and that no one should hide them in their homes, and that all towns should follow the example of Paris. The signal would be the sounding of the tocsin and they were to wear a white band on the left arm and a white cross on their hat and come well armed. Marcel's orders were received with joy by all—soldiers were detailed for all squares and crossroads but were hidden to start with in neighbouring houses. Guise and Angoulême, on the other hand, forgot nothing tending to the success of their plan.

At midnight the Queen, fearing that the King might change his mind, went to his room, and was at once joined by the Dukes of Anjou, Nevers, Birague, Tavane, the Count de Rais, and Guise. The King thought she was reproaching him with cowardice and so gave the order to start, and the Queen, fearing he might change his mind, had the tocsin sounded at once.

(ii) The Death of Coligny

After Coligny had said his prayers with Merlin the minister, he said, without any appearance of alarm, to those

who were present (and almost all were surgeons, for few of them were of his retinue) : ' I see clearly that which they seek, and I am ready steadfastly to suffer that death which I have never feared and which for a long time past I have pictured to myself. I consider myself happy in feeling the approach of death and being ready to die in God, by whose grace I hope for the life everlasting. I have no further need of human succour. Go then from this place, my friends, as quickly as you may, for fear lest you be involved in this misfortune, and that your wives shall some day curse me as the author of your loss. For me it is enough that God is here, to whose goodness I commend my soul, which is so soon to issue from my body.' After these words they ascended to an upper room, whence they sought safety in flight here and there over the roofs. Meanwhile the conspirators, having burst through the door of the chamber, entered, and when Besme, sword in hand, had demanded of Coligny, who stood near the door, ' Are you Coligny ? ' Coligny replied, ' Yes, I am he,' with fearless countenance. ' But you, young man, respect these white hairs. What is it you would do ? You cannot shorten by many days this life of mine.' As he spoke Besme gave him a sword-thrust through the body, and having withdrawn his sword, another thrust through the mouth, by which his face was disfigured. So Coligny fell, killed with many thrusts.

(iii) The Consequences

The cause of the Protestants was ruined in most of the Provinces and they sought a refuge, some at la Rochelle, others at Montauban, at Nîmes, in le Vivarey, and in some castles of the Cevennes : many others, whom fear had forced to leave their houses, after having wandered about in different places, decided to settle outside the kingdom. The queen of England, the Elector of the Palatinate, who was a very humane prince, the cantons of Zurich and Berne, and especially the town of Geneva, received them with open arms. But as they were in a bad way in this town because pillage and the abandoning of their property had reduced

them to dire poverty, Beza and his colleagues took great care to relieve them by collections which they levied on their behalf. The two eldest sons of Coligny were saved from danger; the Count of Laval, son of Dandelot, and Louise de Coligny, widow of Teligny, retreated first of all to Geneva, whence they went to Bâle, and stayed there several months; finally they went to stay at Berne, where they were received by the Republic with as much honour as humanity. Many others, not having enough courage to put up with the inconveniences of exile, which involved also living far from their houses, their wives, and all the other ties which everyone has in his birthplace, yielded to pressure, and, adapting themselves to the times, returned to the religion of their ancestors. They drew up in Paris a formula of abjuration which those who decided to stay in their homes were obliged to take.

Although the undertakings of the King had had up to then all the success which he could desire, there were three things which made him uneasy; the first was that the King of Navarre and the prince of Condé would not renounce their religion; the second that in Poland and Switzerland, where it was of importance to us that they should have a good opinion of the King, the Massacre of Paris was ill seen; the third was lest la Rochelle should always serve as an asylum to Protestants who had enough courage to take up arms.

(iv) Pope Gregory XIII and the News

Although it was still night, I immediately sent to his Holiness to free him from the tension, and so that he might rise to the wonderful grace, which God had granted to Christendom under his pontificate. On that morning there was a Consistory Court . . . and as his Holiness had such a good piece of news to announce to the Holy College, he had the despatches publicly read out to them. His Holiness then spoke about their contents and concluded that in these times, so troubled by revolutions, nothing better or more magnificent could have been wished for; and that,

as it appeared, God was beginning to turn the eye of his mercy on us. His Holiness and the College were extremely contented and joyful at the reading of this news. . . .

On the same morning . . . his Holiness with the whole College of Cardinals went to the church of Saint Mark, to have the *Te Deum* sung and to thank God for granting so great a favour to the Christian people. His Holiness does not cease to pray God, and make others pray, to inspire the Most Christian King to follow further the path which he has opened and to cleanse and purge completely the Kingdom of France from the plague of the Huguenots. Also this morning His Holiness went in procession to the church of Saint Louis, where a solemn Mass was held with the same intention, and next week he will proclaim a solemn jubilee. . . .

But we are still hoping that the fire will spread of its own accord to all places, as we have already received several intimations of what has happened in Lyons and in Rouen.

62. FRENCH GRIEVANCES, 1574

Guillaume de Saulx, temporary King's lieutenant in Burgundy, reported to Charles IX and the Assembly in March, 1574. The sober terms in which he records the results of his personal investigations carry conviction of the reality of the people's standard grievances, two centuries before the Revolution.

SOURCE—Saulx-Tavanes, 304.

. . . CONTINUING my journey, I was conveyed to the town of Tornus,[1] where I received the same complaints about the taxes and impositions, and also remonstrated with them in the same way as above. Then in the town of Châlon, where I was gently informed about justice, finance, services instituted in honour of God, the non-possession (enjoyment) of the beneficiaries and the opinions of the people. They also made the same complaints as to how the swarm of officials and the ignorance and lack of experience of many of them caused confusion and disorder in the administration of justice, making it dearer and subject to delay and corruption and all ill tricks, that the morals of the

[1] Tournus (Tornusium), south of Châlon.

ecclesiastics were a scandal to the upright and an occasion of ungodliness and secession from the church to the wicked, that billeting brought the poor afflicted villages to the depths of despair, that the great burdens, impositions, taxes and loans had almost reduced the whole population to beggary, not only the artisans but also those who were the best off either through wealth earned by their industry or inheritances left by their ancestors ; that they had sometimes been forced, when making loans, to burden inhabitants who had not the means of amassing their quota to the extent of ten years' revenue. So excessive were the burdens that they could not meet them except by burdening both the well-to-do and the indigent ; that the complaints were unavailing of those who said they would protest through the law against the excess and vastness of their wrongs. The remonstrances which I made to them, on the contrary, did not prevent them begging me to put before you their very humble complaints and sufferings.

63. BODIN'S THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY, *c.* 1576

Jean Bodin, whom his translator of 1605 *styled ' a famous lawyer and a man of great experience in matters of state ', formulated the political science of the later sixteenth century in I, ch.* 8, *of his Six bookes of a Commonweale—' perhaps the most important work of its kind between Aristotle and the modern writers '.*

Source—Bodin, pp. 95, 96.

They which have written of the duties of magistrates, and other such like books, have deceived themselves, in maintaining that the power of the people is greater than the prince ; a thing which oft times causeth the true subjects to revolt from the obedience which they owe unto their sovereign prince, and ministreth matter of great troubles in Commonweals. Of which their opinion, there is neither reason nor ground, except the king be captive, furious,[1] or in his infancy, and so needeth to have a protector or lieutenant appointed him by the suffrages of the people. For otherwise if the king should be subject unto the assemblies and

[1] i.e. demented.

decrees of the people, he should neither be king nor sovereign; and the Commonwealth neither realm nor monarchy, but a mere Aristocracy of many lords in power equal, where the greater part commandeth the less in general, and everyone in particular: and wherein the edicts and laws are not to be published in the name of him that ruleth, but in the name and authority of the states, as in an Aristocratical Seignory, where he that is chief hath no power, but oweth obeisance unto the commandments of the seignory: unto whom yet they all and every one of them feign themselves to owe their faith and obedience: which are all things so absurd, as hard it is to say which is furthest from reason.

So when Charles the eighth, the French king, being then but about fourteen years old, held a Parliament at Tours, although the power of the parliament was never before nor after so great as in those times, yet Relli, then speaker for the people, turning himself unto the king, thus beginneth his oration, which is yet in print extant: 'Most high, most mighty and most Christian king, our natural and only lord, we your humble and obedient subjects, which are come hither by your command, in all humility, reverence and subjection, present ourselves before you, etc., and have given me in charge from all this noble assembly, to declare unto you the good will and hearty desire they have with a most firm resolution and purpose to serve, obey and aid you in all your affairs, commandments and pleasures.' In brief, all that his oration and speech is nothing else but a declaration of all their good wills towards the king, and of their humble obedience and loyalty. The like speech almost we see was also used in the parliament at Orleans, unto king Charles the ninth, when he was yet but scarce eleven years old. Neither are the parliaments of Spain otherwise holden, that but even a greater obedience and a greater loyalty of all the people in general is given unto the King, as is to be seen in the acts of the parliament holden at Toledo by king Philip, in the year 1552, when he was yet scarce full twenty-five years old. The answers also of the

king of Spain unto the requests and humble supplications of his people, are given in these words: 'We will,' or else 'We decree and ordain'—and such other like answers, importing the refusal or consent of the prince; yea the subsidy that the subjects pay unto the king of Spain, they call service. Whereby it appeareth them to be deceived, which say that the kings of Arragon cannot derogate from the privileges of the states, by reason of the privileges given them by king James, in the year 1260, and confirmed in the year 1320. For as the privileges were of no force after the death of the king, without the confirmation of his successors; so also the same confirmation of the rest of the kings following was necessary, for that by the law no man can reign over his equals. And albeit that in the parliaments of England, which have commonly been holden every third year, there the states seem to have a very great liberty (as the Northern people almost all breathe thereafter) yet so it is, that in effect they proceed not, but by way of supplications and requests unto the king. As in the Parliament of England holden in October 1566, when the estates by a common consent had resolved (as they gave the queen to understand) not to entreat of anything, until she had first appointed who should succeed her in the crown; She gave them no other answer, But that they were not to make her grave before she were dead. All whose resolutions were to no purpose without her good liking: neither did she in that anything that they required.

64. THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE, 1577

The League is derived from 'the Association, made betwixt the Princes, Lords, Gentlemen and others, as well of the State Ecclesiastical as of the Noblesse and third Estate, Subjects and Inhabitants of the country of Picardy' who in 1577 swore upon the holy gospels and upon their lives, honours and estates as follows. The anarchical implications of their covenant are hardly disguised by its verbiage.

SOURCE—Maimbourg, pp. 42–52.

. . . WE swear and promise, to employ ourselves with all our powers to restore and to maintain the exercise of our

said catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, in which we and our predecessors have been educated, and in which we resolve to live and die. And we swear and promise also all obedience, honour and most humble service, to king Henry now reigning, whom God has given us for our sovereign king and lord, lawfully called, by the law of the kingdom, to the succession of his predecessors, and after him to all the posterity of the house of Valois, and others who after those of the said house of Valois, shall be called by the Law of the realm to the crown. And upon the obedience and service which we are obliged by all manner of rights to render to our said king Henry now reigning, we farther promise to employ our lives and fortunes, for the preservation of his authority, and execution of such commandments, as by him and his Lieutenant Generals or others having power from him, shall be made to us, as well for maintaining the only exercise of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion in France, as for bringing to reason and full submission his rebellious subjects; without acknowledging any other whomsoever, than himself, and such as shall be by him set in command over us. And for as much as by the goodness of our said king and sovereign lord, it hath pleased him to do so much good to all his subjects of his realm, as to convoke them to a general assembly of all the orders and estates of it, thereby to understand all the complaints and grievances of his said subjects, and to make a good and holy reformation of the abuses and disorders which have continued of a long time in the said realm, hoping that God will give us some good resolutions, by the means of so good and great an assembly, we promise and swear to employ our lives and fortunes, for the entire performance of the resolution of the said estates; in that especially which shall depend on the retention of our catholic, apostolic and Roman religion, the preservation of the greatness and authority of our king, the good and quiet of our country, all of this notwithstanding, without prejudice to our liberties and ancient franchises, which we understand to be always maintained and preserved fully and entirely.

And farther to the effect abovesaid, all of us who have hereunto subscribed, promise to keep ourselves in a readiness, well armed, mounted, and accompanied according to our qualities, immediately upon advertisement given us, to put in execution that which shall be commanded on the part of the king our said sovereign lord, by his Lieutenant Generals, or others having from him power and authority as well for the preservation of our province, as for going otherwhere, if it be needful for the preservation of our said religion and service of his said majesty.

. . . And because such levies cannot be made without great costs, and expenses ; and that it is most just in such an emergency, and necessity, to employ all means, which are in the power of any man, there shall be levied and collected upon the country the sums of money convenient and necessary for this, by the advice of the king's lieutenant, or other empowered from his Majesty, which he shall afterwards be petitioned, to authorize and make valid, as being for an occasion so holy and so express, as is the service of God, and that of his said Majesty ; in which levying of money, nevertheless, no gentlemen are or shall be meant to be comprehended, considering that they will do personal service, or set out men with horses and arms, according as it shall be ordained for them to do by the head of the league, or by others deputed by him. . . .

And if any of the said catholics of the said province, after having been required to enter into the present association, shall make difficulty, or use delays, considering that it is only for the honour of God, the service of the king, the good and quiet of our country, he shall be held in all the province for an enemy of God, and a deserter of his religion, a rebel to his king, a betrayer of his country, and by common agreement and consent of all good men, shall be abandoned by all, and left, and exposed to all injuries and oppressions which can come upon him, without ever being received into company, friendship and alliance of the underwritten associates and confederates. . . .

And because it is not our intention any ways to molest

those of the new opinion, who will contain themselves from enterprising any thing against the honour of God, the Service of the King, the good and quiet of his subjects, we promise to preserve them, without their being any ways put in trouble for their consciences, or molested in their persons, goods, honours and families, provided that they do not contravene in any sort that which shall be by his Majesty ordained after the conclusion of the general estates, or anything whatsoever of the said catholic religion.

65. HENRY IV'S SPEECH BEFORE IVRY, 1590

Halting within sight of the Duke of Mayenne and his German, Flemish, Spanish and Swiss contingents, the King made a rousing speech to his men. He claimed that while the enemy were merely pretending to fight for religion, he was honestly defending France.

SOURCE—De Thou, XI, p. 122.

. . . MY enemies, born for the shame and misfortune of France, seek their fatherland beyond her borders. For what other aim can we imagine them to have, when we see them carrying on criminal intercourse with the mortal enemy of the French name, waging war under her auspices, marching under her ensigns, and slavishly obeying her orders, carrying their blindness to the extent of turning her arms against the bowels of France? Look at their army; see the standards of Spain before your eyes. Those are the people who for thirty years have been working for the ruin of France. All the disorders that have troubled the peace of this country have been excited and sustained by their artifices and their secret intrigues. Religion served as their pretext; in reality it was the crown at which they aimed. Can a more convincing proof of this be desired than the lamentable death of my predecessor, the Prince to whom we owe so much, and who had heaped benefits on the very authors of this wretched war? In spite of the hatred that he bore towards those whom it pleased them to call heretics, did they not turn their arms against him, snatch from him the best part of his dominions, and, finally, by the most terrible of all parricides, cut the thread

of his life? It is to avenge such a frightful crime that you have come here. I need say no more. On the outcome of this day depend your lives, your honour and your goods. It is no longer with Frenchmen, but with avowed Spaniards, that you have to deal. I leave it to your valour, so often fatal to the enemies of France, to do the rest. For myself I dare, with the grace of God, to promise that if you have already experienced certain proofs of my favour, you will not see me to-day showing you less bravely the path of honour and of victory.

66. THE ABSOLUTION OF HENRY IV, 1595

The formalities of the restoration to the Church of a Most Christian King who was also a relapsed heretic and had been excommunicated 'together with the rest of this bastard and detestable race of Bourbon' are described by a participant. Clement VIII at the same time restored his own liberty, for Catholic Spain would now be balanced by Catholic France.

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, p. 185. Letter of Cardinal Duperron from Rome, 3rd September, 1595.

AT eight o'clock last Sunday morning the Pope was borne before the church of Saint Peter in his pontifical robes. Almost all the cardinals who are here and a great number of prelates and gentry followed him thither. When he had sat down with the Cardinals, the proctors of the King of Navarre, to wit, Mm. Duperron and d'Osset, immediately appeared. They fell down before the Pope, kissed his feet, and handed him a letter of credence, in which the absolution, already often asked for, was humbly besought. This the Pope showed himself quite willing to grant, but first had a document read to the aforesaid proctors, to the effect that he was quite prepared to absolve the King, but that the King after receiving absolution must daily say the rosary, hear Mass and perform other holy exercises. Thereupon the aforenamed proctors first forswore in the name of His Majesty all heresies, and then publicly professed themselves of the Roman faith. They also promised to carry out the agreement which had been concluded, and accepted the penances imposed.

67. THE EDICT OF NANTES, 13 APRIL, 1598

Though in form a grant, the Edict was in fact a treaty, made between the Catholic monarchy of France and the Huguenots, that is, between the King and certain rebels whom the King was not yet powerful enough to subdue. To restore in France the peace which she so sorely needed, both Catholics and Protestants were called upon to make sacrifices, and both resented the necessity. As the monarchy became stronger, it withdrew first the political concessions, by the agency of Richelieu, and then the religious, by Louis XIV.

SOURCE—Reich, p. 350.

. . . WE have by this perpetual and irrevocable edict declared and ordained the following:

I. Firstly that the memory of all things which have passed between one side and the other, from the beginning of March 1585 until Our accession to the throne, and during the other preceding troubles, and arising out of them, shall be smoothed away and erased, as though the events had never taken place. And it shall not be lawful for Our Procurators General, nor for any other persons whatsoever, public or private, to make mention of them, in any terms or on any account for any process or indictment in any court or jurisdiction whatever.

III. We ordain that the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith be restored and re-established in all those districts and places of this our Realm . . . in which its exercise has been interrupted, there to be freely and peaceably exercised. . . .

VI. And to leave no occasion for trouble or difference among our subjects: We permit those of the so-called Reformed Religion to lodge and abide in all the towns and districts of this our Realm . . . free from inquisition, molestation or compulsion to do anything in the way of Religion, against their conscience . . . provided that they observe the provisions of this Edict.

IX. We also permit those of the aforesaid Religion to practise it in all the towns and districts subject to Us, in which it had been established and publicly observed by them on several distinct occasions during the year 1596 and the year 1597 up to the end of August, all decrees and judgments to the contrary notwithstanding.

[XIII. All exercise in public of this religion outside places permitted by this Edict is strictly forbidden.]

[XIV. The exercise of this religion is prohibited in the Court and Suite, in the 'lands beyond the Mountains' and within five leagues of Paris, but its professors may live there in peace.]

[XXI. Books dealing with the Reformed Religion may only be printed and sold publicly in the parts in which its exercise is lawful.]

[XXV. Adherents of the Reformed Religion must pay Tithes according to the custom of their district.]

[XXVII. And are declared capable of holding all offices and positions within the realm.]

XXX. That justice may be done to our subjects without suspicion, hate or favour, as one of the chief meansof keeping them in peace and concord, We ordain, that in Our Court the Parliament of Paris, there shall be established a Chamber of a President and sixteen councillors of the said Parliament, which shall be entitled the Chamber of the Edict, and shall have cognisance, not only of the pleas and suits of those of the so-called Reformed Religion who are within the jurisdiction of the aforesaid Court, but also of the provinces of our Parliaments of Normandy and Brittany, [until these have similar Chambers of their own].

Secret Articles. [The Reformers are not to be compelled to contribute towards the internal activities of the Church unless in fulfilment of trusts, nor to be obliged to pay for the decoration of their houses on fête days.]

(*b*) THE NETHERLANDS

68. THE GHENT PATERNOSTER, *c.* 1573

The Calvinists of the Low Countries, as the history of their iconoclasm bears witness, were by no means thin-blooded or meek. The temper of the masses may be inferred from the popularity of a grim parody of the Lord's Prayer; that of their leaders from the date and legalistic character of the documents which follow.

SOURCE—Motley, p. 543.

Our devil, who dost in Brussels dwell,
Curst be thy name in earth and hell:
Thy kingdom speedily pass away,
Which hath blasted and blighted us many a day;
Thy will nevermore be done,
In heaven above nor under the sun;
Thou takest daily our daily bread;
Our wives and children lie starving or dead.
No man's trespasses thou forgivest;
Revenge is the food on which thou livest.
Thou leadest all men into temptation;
Unto evil thou hast delivered this nation.
Our Father, in heaven which art,
Grant that this hellish devil may soon depart—
And with him his Council false and bloody,
Who make murder and rapine their daily study-
And all his savage war dogs of Spain,
Oh send them back to the Devil, their father, again.
Amen.

69. THE UNION OF UTRECHT, 29 JANUARY, 1579

Source—Reich, pp. 593–615.

Insomuch as it has been experienced that, since the Pacification at Ghent, by which almost all the Provinces of these Netherlands have bound themselves to stand by one another with life and goods, and to drive out of these lands the Spaniards and other nations, together with their following, the same Spaniards, with Don John of Austria and other of their chiefs and captains, have tried all means, and still daily seek to bring the aforesaid Provinces, in whole and in part, under their subjection, tyrannical rule and slavery; and, not by arms so much as by machinations, to divide the same Provinces one from another and to dismember them. . . . Therefore those of the Principality of Guelders and county of Zutphen, and those of the counties and lands of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht and Frisia, between the Ems and the Bauwers, have esteemed it advisable to unite . . .,

not in order to sever themselves from the general Union brought about at the Pacification of Ghent, but rather still more to strengthen the same, . . . but in all cases they wish thereby to withdraw themselves from the Holy Roman Empire.

1. And firstly, that the aforesaid Provinces shall unite, bind, and confederate one with the other, . . . and stand for ever by the others, in all ways and manners as if they were one Province alone, without the same being able at any time to separate . . ., without prejudice, however, to any single Province, and the particular cities, fiefs, and inhabitants thereof, and their special and particular freedoms, exemptions, usages and all other rights whatsoever; . . . it being well understood that any question, which any of the aforesaid Provinces, fiefs, or cities belonging to this Union, has with other Provinces . . . shall be decided by ordinary justice, arbitrators or amicable accord.

2. [The Provinces are required to help one another against all oppression or 'forceful act' inflicted on them in the name of the King of Spain under any pretext whatever.]

3. [The Provinces are required to help one another against all other aggressors, 'provided that the assistance be decreed by the generality of this Union with knowledge as the occasion requires'.]

4. Item and in order the better to secure the said Provinces, etc., that the Frontier-towns and likewise others which shall be found expedient, to whatsoever province they belong, shall, by the common advice and consent of these united Provinces, be fortified and strengthened, at the cost of the cities and provinces wherein they are situated, but having assistance thereto as to the half from the Generality: . . .

5–6. [To pay the expenses of defence, taxes are to be imposed, 'in all the provinces, equally and upon one footing'. To this is added the income from the King's domains. The taxes are to be raised or lowered, by common advice as the situation requires.]

7. That the said Frontier-towns, and also others as

occasion shall demand, shall be required to admit such garrisons as the same united Provinces find good to send there, and they by the advice of the Governor of the Provinces shall command to be introduced, under whom these garrisons shall be placed, without the possibility of refusal: provided that the said garrisons be paid their entire wages by the said United Provinces, and that the captains and soldiers, according to the general oath, shall be required to swear obedience to such town, city or Province into which they are introduced. . . .

8. [All men between the ages of eighteen and thirty are to be enrolled for purposes of defence.]

9. Item, there shall be made no agreement or treaty of peace, nor wars shall be begun, no taxes or contribution levied, concerning the generality of this Union except by the common and unanimous advice and consent of the said Provinces; but in other matters depending upon those questions, they shall be regulated, advised and concluded by the majority of votes of the Provinces comprised in this confederation . . . [in case of disagreement over matters of the first importance the Stadtholders (Lords Lieutenant) of the Provinces are to arbitrate].

10. None of the said Provinces, cities or dependencies thereof shall be able to make any confederacy or agreement with any neighbouring sovereigns or lands without the consent of these united Provinces and confederates.

11. It is agreed that in so far as any neighbouring princes, sovereigns, lands, or cities desire to unite with the said Provinces and to join this confederacy, they may be thereunto received by the common advice and consent of these Provinces.

12. That the said provinces shall be required to conform one with another in the striking of coin. . . .

13. And in the point of religion, those of Holland and Zeeland shall deport themselves as best they think, and the other Provinces of this Union shall regulate themselves according to the contents of the religious peace already drawn up by the Archduke Matthias, Governor and Captain-

General of all these lands, with those of his Council and by the advice of the States General ; . . . in order that each individual shall remain free in his religion, and that no one shall suffer any tribulation on account of his religion, in accordance with the Pacification of Ghent.

14. [All members of convents and clerics accepting the Pacification are to receive back their estates.]

16. And in the event (which God avert) of any misunderstanding, quarrel, or dissension, arising among the said Provinces, wherein some cannot agree with the others, this (in so far as it concerns any one of the Provinces in particular) shall be settled and decided by the other Provinces, or by those whom they may thereto depute. And, so far as the matter concerns all the Provinces in general, by the Lords Stadtholders of the Provinces : . . . and there shall be no attempt or use of appeal or any other provision of the law. . . .

17. [To avoid giving offence to foreign powers, good law and justice are to be administered to foreigners and natives.]

18. Item, none of the united Provinces, cities, or dependencies thereof, shall levy duties, convey moneys or the like, to the burthening and prejudice of the others, and without common consent, nor charge any of the Allies higher than its own natives.

19. [The allies are to appoint representatives who can be summoned to Utrecht to discuss current affairs. The decision of the majority is to rule, and is to be binding on those who fail to appear. Provinces unable to appear may send their views in writing.]

20. [Matters of importance are to be communicated in this way by individual provinces to the whole confederation.]

21. [The representatives are to decide on any disputed points in these articles, or, failing agreement, they are to submit them to the Lords Stadtholders for arbitration.]

22. [Likewise, if any change in the articles of this Union shall be decided on by the common advice and consent of the allies.]

23. [Promises the observance of these Articles, and the enforcing of the same, all exemptions and privileges notwithstanding.]

24. And for the greater security, the Lords Stadtholders of the said Provinces that now are or who shall come hereafter, together with all the magistrates and chief officers of every Province, city, or land thereof, be required to swear on oath to observe and uphold, and make to be observed and upheld, this Union and Confederacy and each article thereof in particular.

25. Likewise the same shall be required to swear upon oath to uphold all militias, confraternities, associations and colleges that are in any cities or villages of this Union.

26. [Stadtholders and prominent persons to seal copies of these Articles.]

70. THE ABJURATION OF PHILIP'S SOVEREIGNTY, 1581

Sources—(i) Motley, p. 840. (ii) Motley, p. 841.

(i) 26th July, 1581. The Act of Abjuration

Preamble. All mankind know that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfil his duty as protector, when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the Estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his room. . . .

(ii) 29th July, 1581. Formula Signifying Abjuration

I solemnly swear that I will henceforward not respect, nor obey, nor recognize the King of Spain as my prince and master; but that I renounce the King of Spain, and abjure the allegiance by which I may have formerly been bound to him. At the same time I swear fidelity to the United Netherlands—to wit, the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Guelders, Holland, Zealand, etc., etc., and also to the

national council established by the Estates of these provinces; 'and promise my assistance, according to the best of my abilities, against the King of Spain and his adherents.

71. THE MURDER OF WILLIAM THE SILENT, 1584

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, p. 73. Letter from Antwerp, 16 July, 1584.

ON the evening of the twelfth of this month we received the news, the truth of which was subsequently confirmed, that on the tenth the Prince of Orange was murdered at Delft by a Burgundian called . . . Gerard. The latter had been despatched the day before as ambassador to the States and to William of Orange from France, to announce the death of the Duke of Alençon. And about a quarter of an hour later the Prince was no longer living. While I am writing this the news has come that the aforesaid Gerard has been tortured at Delft and has confessed that he was induced to kill the Prince of Orange by a Jesuit in Italy, in the name of the King of Spain. The Jesuit had promised him 30,000 pounds for it, and if he lost his life, his friends were to have the money. . . .

72. THE FALL OF THE OSTEND FORTRESS, 1604

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, p. 240. Letter from Antwerp, 24 September, 1604.

THE fortress of Ostend, which had been besieged for three years, two and a half months, has now capitulated to Spinola. On the 22nd of this month, at ten in the morning, the 2,500 soldiers of the States General, with all their arms and four heavy guns, were led to the town of Sluys. Although count Maurice of Nassau, as letters from Middelburg of the 14th of this month report, set out by sea with 20,000 horse and foot, and about twenty-four cannon, and was provided with twenty thousand loaves in Zealand, he could not land the chief of his force at Ostend, the wind being contrary and the cannonade from Spinola's entrenchments strong. And as the troops of the States General could no longer hold out against the unending cannonade, they must at last surrender.

VI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–48)

(*a*) THE PRE-WAR MONARCHIES

(*i*) *SPAIN*

73. THE SPANIARDS CAPTURE LISBON, 1580

The forcible assertion by Philip II of his hereditary right to succeed Dom Sebastian involved a union of the two Iberian empires which lasted sixty years.

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, p. 47. Letter from Lisbon, 1 September, 1580.

ON the 25th of August the duke of Alva took Lisbon with the sword. Rumour has it that on the side of the Portuguese about three thousand people have perished, some of whom I myself saw next day in the suburb. The dead are laid one on top of the other like swine. . . . All the streets are so full of dead men and horses that we were obliged to walk over these like a bridge. Some were still alive,—one lifted a foot, another a hand, a third his head. . . . Also the suburb, which is far larger than the town itself, was looted for three successive days. Not a nail in a wall is left in place. However, no soldiers have come into the town, because the duke has strictly forbidden it. They are still lying in front of the town. We have suffered no injury, thanks be to God!

Four days ago five ships put in here from the Indies. Another one should have come too, which set out this year for the Portuguese Indies. It turned back however. . . .

74. SPAIN THROUGH PERSIAN EYES, *c.* 1600

The pre-eminence of Spain, and the impression made upon an Asiatic by his travels in Europe, appear from Don Juan's narrative.

SOURCE—Le Strange, pp. 290–292.

AT Valladolid many nobles and courtiers welcomed us, and they led us to a fine house that had been prepared for us, well furnished and provided with rich bedding and tapestry hangings, in cloth and velvet of divers colours. We now were waited upon by his Majesty's servants, and soldiers of the Spanish and German guard were posted at our door. Then our ambassador received visits from all the other foreign ambassadors who were at that time accredited to the Court of Spain, and the house was all day long thronged by guests, more particularly at the hours of dinner and supper. After we had been four days at Valladolid, the Duke of Lerma having during this time made his public official visit to our ambassador, his Majesty gave command that we should attend at the palace. . . .

They now conducted us on to the presence chamber, where the King was standing. The ambassador came forward bearing the Letter, and this, after the Persian fashion, was written in letters of gold and coloured ink on a sheet of paper more than a yard in length and curiously folded, for the length in Persian style was doubled up, as for example is done in Spain with a folio sheet, and the paper was three finger-lengths in breadth. The ambassador had brought the letter enclosed in a bag of cloth of gold, and he carried this in his turban close upon his head, from whence he had now taken it, and first kissing it, then presented it to the King. His Majesty, raising his bonnet, received the letter, and through the interpreter informed himself of what the King of Persia had written, and now learnt what was the object of the embassy. This becoming known to him, he replied that he greatly esteemed the friendship which the king of Persia was offering him, that most gladly would he do all that the Shah had written desiring to be done, and that he would later send a reply to this letter. Meanwhile

we were to divert ourselves and take our ease. After all this had been said and done on either side, the ambassador begged permission to take leave of his Majesty, and accompanied by the escort, we returned as we had come. We remained for the following two months nobly complimented at court, being taken out in his Majesty's coaches, or on horseback, going to see the most notable sights of the city, and further were entertained by dancing at balls, and more particularly we saw bull-fights and tilting in the ring. Now all these public festivals seemed to us to be better done in Spain than in any of the kingdoms and countries that we had previously visited, for the Spaniards, even in matter of sport, possess a grandeur and composure which is lacking to all other nations.

In the midst of all these festivities, a matter was happening which was to cause much disquietude to our ambassador. Among his secretaries of Embassy who had accompanied him from Persia, being of his suite, was his nephew, whose name was 'Ali Quli Beg, and he, because the subject pleased and interested him, was now wont to attend the rites and services of the Christian Church. He had further come to appreciate the Spanish mode of life, and for convenience was accustomed now to wear the Spanish dress. This at first apparently was done as a matter of mere curiosity and amusement, but in truth it was soon patent that, as we may opine and believe, the hour had struck in which God Almighty—who in past times had opened a path with his Right hand through the waters of the Red Sea, whereby dry-shod the children of Israel had gone over, and with his other hand had closed again the waters to cover and drown the satraps and all the Princes of Egypt—was now intent that in Spain He should be proclaimed again as God Almighty. For from the remotest parts of Asia He would bring, to the opposite limit of Europe, men with hard rebellious hearts, there to become softened anon, and like wax to melt in the enjoyment of the warm glow of Evangelical doctrine. Blessed, therefore, be His loving-kindness, and happy eternally this Persian gentleman to

have accepted and profited by the mercies which God had vouchsafed to him in causing him to become a Christian.

(*ii*) *FRANCE*

75. HENRY IV AND THE DUKE OF MAYENNE, 1596

' Henry's best ally was himself.' The personal charm, which many of the ' rebels ' found irresistible, was rendered still more effective by a conscience which allowed the lavish use of treasure and patronage in disarming opposition. Moreover, the King could say with truth, 'Many men have betrayed me but by few have I been deceived '.

SOURCE—Sully, II, p. 125.

THE treaty with the duke of Maïenne . . . was concluded during the King's stay at Monçeaux. . . . The King was walking in his park, attended only by me, and holding my hand, when the duke arrived. Henry, who, as soon as he saw him approach, had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and, forcing him to rise, embraced him again with that goodness which he never withheld from a subject that returned to his duty; then taking his hand he made him walk with him in his park, conversing with him familiarly upon the embellishments he designed to make in it. The king walked so fast, that the duke of Maïenne, equally incommoded by his sciatica, his fat, and the heat of the weather, suffered great torments without daring to complain. The king perceiving it, by the duke's being red and in a violent perspiration, whispered me, ' If I walk longer, with this corpulent body, I shall revenge myself upon him, without any great difficulty, for all the mischiefs he has done us.' Then turning to the duke of Maïenne, ' Tell me truly, cousin,' pursued he, ' do I not walk a little too fast for you ? ' The duke replied, that he was almost suffocated; and that if his majesty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without designing it. ' Hold there, cousin,' replied the king with a smile, embracing him again, and lightly tapping his shoulder, ' for this is all the vengeance you will ever receive from me.' The duke of Maïenne, sensibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiss the hand his majesty

held out to him, and protested that he would henceforward serve him even against his own children.

76. HENRY IV IN 1610

SOURCE—Richelieu, I, p. 16.

THE Queen's real sorrows began in 1610, when the King revealed to her his resolve to bring Milan, Montferrat, Genoa, and Naples into submission; to give the greater part of the Milanese and Montferrat to the Duke of Savoy in exchange for the county of Nice and Savoy; to make Piedmont and the Milanese kingdoms; to get the Duke of Savoy called king of the Alps; and to build a fortress on the Savoy-Piedmont frontier to restrain those kingdoms and to retain entry into Italy.

His intention was to make all the Italian princes interested in his conquests: the republic of Venice by some increase adjacent to her dominions; the grand-duke of Florence by putting him in possession of the strongholds which, he claims, have been usurped from him by the Spaniards; the Dukes of Parma and Modena by enlarging their possessions with territory near at hand; and the Duke of Mantua by compensating him liberally for Montferrat with Cremona.

The more easily to carry this great plan into effect, he would go to Flanders, settle the disturbances which had broken out at Cleves and Juliers owing to the death of their duke, and kindle a war in Germany, not to gain a footing on the other side of the Rhine, but to occupy and divert the enemy's forces.

Perhaps his appetite would have grown by eating and besides his scheme for Italy he would have determined to invade Flanders, whither his thoughts ran sometimes, as well as to make the Rhine the frontier of France, fortifying three or four strongholds there.

But at the time his real plan was to send Marshal de Lesdiguières to Italy with 15,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, the collection of which had already been nearly completed in the Dauphiné, to join forces with the Duke of

Savoy, who was to send 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry to begin the execution of his plan in Italy at the same time as he himself should march into Flanders and make for Juliers with the army he had in Champagne, which would have consisted of 25,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry.

Juliers offered enough opportunities for glory to be the only reason for his enterprise; the Duke of Cleves being dead and having left only two daughters as his heiresses, the elder married to the Elector of Brandenburg and the other to the Duke of Neuburg, the Emperor, according to the usual custom of the house of Austria, which lets slip no opportunity of aggrandisement under specious pretexts, dispatched the Archduke Leopold and his troops so quickly after the death of the Duke of Juliers that he seized the stronghold of that name, as though everything held of the Empire was to be called in for want of male heirs.

Since it was a question of protecting the weak against the power which was at that time the most feared in Europe, of maintaining a cause whose justice was so obvious that the claims to the contrary had not even any appearance thereof, it is not without reason that I say that this occasion was sufficiently important to be the sole cause for raising such large armies as the King was preparing. The sincerity, however, which history demands, compels me to add that not only do I consider that the other plans which I have given an account of above, founded on the justice that entitles every prince to reconquer what belongs to him, must be added thereto, but also that love was not the least cause of this famous journey; for it is true that he wanted to make use of this opportunity to force the archduke to deliver to him Madame la Princesse (Henriette-Charlotte de Montmorency).

77. RICHELIEU, HIS POLICY AND IDEAS, *c.* 1628

More than any other man, Cardinal Richelieu shaped the course of the Thirty Years' War. Between 1624 *and* 1642, *he re-created the French monarchy, saved Protestantism, and paved the way for the reorganization of Europe. 'The Peace of Westphalia was really of*

his making', and it was he who made possible the ascendancy of France under Louis XIV. Three extracts from his Memoirs are here cited in illustration. Clemency, he held, had been the bane of France, and, as all his actions showed, the profit of the State must override all else.

SOURCE—(i) Richelieu, IV, pp. 247–250. (ii) Richelieu, p. 265. (iii) Richelieu, VII.

(i) ADVICE TO LOUIS XIII—FOREIGN POLICY

HE represented to His Majesty that, now that La Rochelle was taken, if he wished to make himself the most powerful sovereign in the world, . . . it was above all necessary finally to crush the rebellion of the heretics, to take Castres, Nîmes, Montauban, and all the remaining strongholds of Languedoc, Rouergue and Guienne, then enter Sedan and make sure of money. It was necessary to raze to the ground every stronghold which was not on the frontier and did not command the river-crossings or bridle the large towns which were mutinous and troublesome; to strengthen thoroughly those which were on the frontier, one at Commercy in particular; to win over the people and lighten their burdens; not to re-instal the *paulette* when it came to an end a year later; to humble and reduce in number those corporations which opposed the welfare of the kingdom by a pretended sovereignty. Also to make His Majesty wholly obeyed by great and small; to fill the bishoprics with picked men, wise and capable; to buy back the King's demesne, and to increase the revenue by a half, as was possible by innocent methods. . . .

With regard to foreign policy, a constant scheme for putting a stop to the progress of Spain should be adopted; and instead of aiming, as Spain did, at the increase of its domination and the extension of its frontiers, France ought only to think of strengthening herself at home, and of building and opening for herself gates into all her neighbours' lands, and of gaining power to protect them from the oppression of Spain, whenever an opportunity should present itself;

To do this, the first step must be to make herself powerful on the sea, which gives entry to every country in the world.

She must next think of strengthening her position at Metz and of pushing forward to Strasburg, if possible, in order to have an entrance into Germany. This must be done slowly, discreetly and unobtrusively.

A large citadel must be built at Versoix to impress the Swiss, keep an open gate and make Geneva a dependency of France.

(ii) Advice to Louis XIII—Home Policy

Kings, being true images of God, inasmuch as they confer all kinds of benefits, cannot be too careful to acquire by good actions a reputation for liberality; this is the true method of winning the hearts of men; but it must be done with due regard to the merits and services of persons, and not by favour, since it is certain that there are very few who love naked virtue, that is to say who endeavour to do right unless they hope for some reward, and it is a maxim of great princes to reward those who serve the State worthily; this is to invest one's money at an interest of more than 1,000 per cent., inasmuch as the fruit of such men's service benefits everybody, whereas that which they receive from their masters only benefits them, as they alone receive it.

(iii) Regarding Punishments

That a Christian cannot too soon forget a wrong or pardon an offence, nor a king, a governor or a magistrate punish them too soon, when they are committed against the State; . . .

For God has not been pleased to leave vengeance in the hands of individuals, because, under that pretext, everyone would give free play to his passions and disturb the public peace;

But He has put it in the hands of the kings and magistrates according to the rules which He laid down for them, because without examples and punishments there is no injustice and no act of violence which would not be committed with impunity . . .;

That the salvation of mankind is achieved in the next world, and therefore it is not to be wondered at if God wishes that individuals leave vengeance in His hands. . . .

But states cease with this world, their salvation lies in the present or nowhere ; and therefore punishments essential to their subsistence cannot be deferred.

(*iii*) *THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE*

78. POST-REFORMATION SCIENCE, *c.* 1593

The miracle described below gave rise to a considerable literature. Dr. Horst cast a horoscope, and, with the aid of the book of Daniel, discovered that the golden tooth was the precursor of a golden age, in which the Turks would be defeated and the Holy Roman Empire fully restored.

SOURCE—De Thou, XI, p. 634.

SEVERAL extraordinary events are described as having happened in this year (1593). It is reported that a girl was born with two heads at the town of Wolmerstat in the bishopric of Münster ; and another in October with one head and two bodies, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Yet another phenomenon of nature happened in this year, more astonishing than the other two, such as had never before been seen but was attested by the public testimony of the Silesians. Christopher Müller, aged seven, born at Wegelsdorf . . . having when quite young lost his father, a poor but honest carpenter, was brought up by his mother in accordance with her circumstances. In his seventh year, when on his way to school with other children to learn to read, he lost a tooth and a gold one appeared in its place. A girl of his own age first noticed it, then the chief gentry and a large part of the Silesian nobility beheld this tooth with the utmost astonishment.

James Horst, Professor of Medicine in the University of Helmstat . . . having come to Wegelsdorf to cure the [Squire's] son of fever, had Müller brought to him. Horst was convinced of the prodigy by seeing the gold of the tooth shining in the lower jaw. He felt it with his fingers and

found it rounded, with a rough surface, having the four corners raised and the cavity the same as the molars, which it even surpassed in size. It was the last, well set, stable and firm, surrounded by a flexible reddish gum. He further made the child eat some food to see if this gold tooth was of use to eat with, and he found food on it. Then he made him rinse his mouth out, and having passed his touchstone over this tooth, he found that the gold was as pure as German and Hungarian gold.

79. THE LETTER OF MAJESTY OF RUDOLPH II, 9 JULY, 1609

This charter conceded to the Bohemian Protestants such vast liberties that a zealous Catholic ruler could not possibly acquiesce. This situation was the immediate cause of the Thirty Years' War.

SOURCE—Reich, pp. 630–634.

WE, Rudolph the Second by the Grace of God elected Roman Emperor, etc. . . .

Be it known to everybody by this letter, to everlasting remembrance: Whereas all the three estates of our kingdom of Bohemia, that receive the body and the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ in both forms, our loyal subjects, have requested us, humbly and dutifully, as King of Bohemia, in the diet:

That they may be granted all that has been laid down in the Confession, commonly called Bohemian, but by some called the Augsburg Confession, which was described and handed over to the Emperor Maximilian, our beloved father . . . in the year 1575, together with all the other compromises and understandings, at which they had arrived in the said diet of 1575, and that they may freely and without hindrance practise their Christian Religion [by receiving Communion] in both kinds,

And considering that this had been confirmed by us to those estates. . . . Therefore we have, after full consideration . . . provided the estates of this usage with this our Letter of Majesty. . . .

That they shall not oppress one another, but remain good

friends, nor shall one party revile the other. The common law of the country with regard to this shall be fully maintained, and, in future, nobody shall infringe it, under pain of the punishments prescribed in the common law. . . . We grant and command that all such estates, barons and knights, as well as the citizens of Prague and Kuttenberg and the inhabitants of the other towns, shall be allowed to practise their Christian religion in such manner in all places whatsoever, and to keep their priests and their church régime. Moreover we give such estates these special privileges and grant to all three, adherents of this Confession, that they may again take possession and dispose of the Consistorium of Prague . . . and that they may have their priests taught and ordained there in the Bohemian as well as the German language, and may send them to their benefices free from all interference by the Archbishop of Prague or by anyone else ;

We likewise grant the Academy at Prague to such estates so that they may provide it with learned and capable men, and keep good order, and recruit from among them their defensors.

. . . These estates may, in any royal town, borough, village or other place, freely build churches or schools and nobody has a right to interfere with them.

We likewise forbid any attempt at converting people, either by force or by persuasion, to a religion other than the one they profess. We ordain that no existent law, nor any law to be passed in the future, can deprive the present Letter of Majesty of its force.

80. THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II

Ferdinand of Styria was the champion of the Catholic reaction whose activities precipitated the Thirty Years' War. Bryce styles him jealous, bigoted, implacable, unpopular and able. The Papal Nuncio emphasizes another view.

SOURCE—Hurter, pp. 212–221.

HE is of middle stature, powerfully built, ruddy, with pleasing manners and easily accessible, well-disposed

towards everybody. Usually he drinks and sleeps very little. He goes to bed at ten after the German custom; at four in the morning, often even earlier, he is on his legs. . . .

He hears two masses in his chapel every day, one for the soul of his first wife, the sister of the duke of Bavaria, who, although sickly, was very tenderly loved by the Emperor. If it is a feast day, he receives the Holy Communion after these masses, for which purpose he goes to the church, and hears a sermon, usually in German by a Jesuit and an hour in length. After the service he attends high mass, which usually claims an hour and a half. In the afternoon he attends the Italian service held by Father Montopoli; then follows vespers. . . .

On All Souls' Day and its octave and on Rogation days, the Emperor walks in procession, with bared head, without any regard to the weather. Many barons and knights, solely moved by this example, have forsaken heresy, for the number of born Catholics at Court is not great. It is recognized that more has been accomplished by the Emperor's magnanimity, purity and goodness than human wisdom could have brought to pass.

The Emperor is a distinguished shot; to hunt and to kill stag or boar gives him the greatest pleasure. He is wont to bestow the bag upon the nuncio, the ambassadors, or some spiritual house. A record is kept of the hunts throughout the whole year, at the end of which it is compared with that of the Elector of Saxony.

(*b*) THE WAR AND PEACE (1618–48)

81. WALLENSTEIN'S DISCIPLINE, 1627

It was power of organization rather than invention of new weapons or tactics that gave Wallenstein his unique place in the history of war. His methods are illustrated by the following reply to Colonel von Arnim, who had asked for official directions for the conduct of the army in winter quarters in Pomerania.

SOURCE—Schilling, p. 117.

We can give you no other directions than to see to it that the forces are paid in full each month, that they live on their pay, and that they in no way demand support from the inhabitants. Since some regiments remain incomplete, the commander should only allow full pay for those which are complete. He must withhold it from neglectful officers who have allowed their companies to fall to pieces, and so filled their purse. For if a month's pay were given to those below strength just the same as to those with complete companies, he who had served well would be ill rewarded, and he who had served ill, well. Therefore while the commander will give full pay for the horse and foot who are efficient in the companies he should deduct 15 florins a month for an absent arquebusier and 15 for a cuirassier. It also often happens that the officers receive the money for the soldiers, put it in their purses, and try to make the inhabitants support the soldiers with food, drink and fodder, which is unjust and to be severely punished; the commander must exercise great care to see that nothing of this sort occurs. Also as the inhabitants cannot always be paid on the spot, and must provide the soldiers with some stores, the cost must be deducted as soon as money comes to hand, and the inhabitants satisfied. [Soldiers caught stealing to be chastised or executed without regard to rank.]

82. THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION, 6 MARCH, 1629

Ferdinand's proclamation completely overturned the balance of power in Germany. 'Besides the almost illimitable number of monasteries, the Edict concerned no less than two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics . . . inhabited by an exclusively Protestant population.' (Winter.)

Source—Hurter, iii, p. 28. Reich, p. 233. (German, with translation.)

We are determined for the realization both of the religious and secular peace to send our imperial commissioners forthwith into the Empire; to claim from their unlawful occupiers all the archbishoprics, prelacies, convents and other religious foundations of which their Catholic owners

at the time of the treaty of Passau (1552) or subsequently have been unlawfully deprived ; and to put into them duly qualified persons, so that everyone may get his due. . . . We also declare that the religious peace (of 1555) embraces only the ancient Catholic religion and the unaltered Augsburg Confession as it was submitted to our dear Ancestor the Emperor Charles V on the twenty-fifth of June 1530 ; and that all other contrary doctrines and sects, whatever names they may have . . . are forbidden and cannot be tolerated. We therefore command [you], under penalty of the religious and the national ban, not to oppose our ordinance in your dominions but to carry it out there and to assist our commissioners when desired. [Unlawful occupiers who do not vacate immediately will lose their rights *ipso facto* and will be distrained on.] Should they not carry out this behest they will not only expose themselves to the imperial ban and to the immediate loss of all their privileges and rights without any further sentence or condemnation, but to the inevitable real execution of that order (distrained by force). Signed, FERDINAND.

83. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ON HIS INVASION OF GERMANY, 1630

The Swedish King, declaring that he and his people were nowhere weaker than in Sweden, and that for their defence against Austrian and Spanish designs a bastion in Germany was indispensable, demanded that his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, should provide his army with a base. At Stettin he met the plenipotentiaries of the Elector, and in reply to their objections made the clearest possible statement of his position and demands. He succeeded in coercing the Elector into a reluctant complicity.

SOURCES—(i) Fletcher, p. 97. (ii) Schilling, p. 127.

(i) TO THE SWEDISH PEOPLE, 1629

DENMARK is used up. The Papists are on the Baltic, they have Rostock, Wismar, Stettin, Wolgast, Greifswald, and nearly all the other ports in their hands ; Rügen is theirs, and from Rügen they continue to threaten Stralsund ; their whole aim is to destroy Swedish commerce, and soon to

plant a foot on the Southern shores of our Fatherland. Sweden is in danger from the power of Habsburg; that is all, but it is enough; that power must be met, swiftly and strongly. The times are bad; the danger is great. It is no time to ask whether the cost will not be far beyond what we can bear. The fight will be for parents, for wife and child, for house and home, for Fatherland and Faith.

(ii) To the Brandenburgers, July 1630.

I have come hither for no other reason than to save the poor oppressed Estates and their subjects from the terrible tyranny and oppression of those thieves and robbers who have tormented them hitherto and to help the Elector to escape a like fate. . . . Does he not know that the Emperor and his friends are resolved to go on until the Evangelical religion in the Empire is completely rooted out, and that his fate will be to deny his religion or to quit his countries? . . . For God's sake take resolves worthy of men. . . . I cannot go back: the die is cast: we have crossed the Rubicon. I am seeking no profit for myself except the safety of my realm. Else have I only expenses, toil and peril. They gave me cause enough by twice sending help to my foes in Prussia, and designing to seize the Baltic ports. . . . Let the Elector cease to be the Emperor's servant in his own countries: who makes himself a sheep, him the wolf devours. . . . I will not hear of neutrality: the Elector must be friend or foe. . . . God is fighting with the devil. If the Elector will hold to God, let him join me; if the devil, he will have me to contend with; no third course will be allowed.

84. THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN, 16 NOVEMBER, 1632

Lützen did most to change the German religious war into a political struggle between the Catholic powers of France and Spain. 'The direct religious issue seems to grow dull and dim with the removal of the Protestant champion . . . the songs of the Thirty Years' War, of which we have a plentiful and interesting crop for its earlier half, seem to become extinct after the death of Gustavus.' (Ward.) It is curious

that 'the founder of modern war, the first modern to blend the three elemental principles, security, mobility and offensive action' (Hart), perished in such a mediaeval fashion.

SOURCE—Richelieu, VII, pp. 257, etc.

LÜTZEN is a paltry little town, 10 miles from Leipzig and only five leagues from the spot where Tilly had been defeated the year before. . . . At daybreak the king of Sweden gave the order to march straight for Lützen, with the pass-word: 'God be with us.' When a quarter of a league from the enemy such a thick mist came on that he could march no further, but learned from some prisoners that the enemy were awaiting him, drawn up for battle. . . .

The two generals incited their troops to the combat; the king of Sweden by words which came readily to his lips; Wallenstein, by his presence alone and by the sternness of his silence, seeming to make his men understand by his look that, as usual, he would reward or punish them according as they did well or badly on this important occasion.

At about ten o'clock the mist lifted, and only then did the king see the Imperial forces drawn up for battle. Before them they had six batteries of six cannon each, and two very deep ditches full of musketeers on either side of a highway. On their right was the town of Lützen and on their left an unfordable stream; but in spite of these advantages, the king did not delay his advance. . . .

Duke Bernard of Weimar, after a very hard tussle, drove the enemy out of their trenches, captured their cannon, and by setting fire to Lützen, which was surrounded only by paltry walls, forced those within to abandon it. The king of Sweden was also doing marvels, having driven the Imperialists out of the ditches and captured some of their cannon; then, seeing them waver, he took with him only the Steimbar regiment of Swedish horse and prayed them all to follow him and bear themselves like good men. He advanced beyond the two ditches and captured another battery, passed by it, doffed his hat and gave thanks to God for the victory.

But as two regiments of cuirassiers were advancing against

him, he charged the nearest and plunged so far into the fray that his horse received a pistol-shot in the neck and he himself another which shattered his left arm. His hat fell to the ground ; and, feeling that he was wounded, he withdrew from the battle, accompanied only by duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, a volunteer who had left the Emperor's service two months before. . . . But Lieutenant-Colonel Falkemberg galloped straight for the king, without any one thinking that he was one of the enemy, and shot him in the back at ten paces, bringing him to the ground. . . . Three Imperialist cavalrymen came up . . . and one of them shot the king through the temple, which killed him, thrust his sword into him several times, and then stripped him of everything but his shirt.

85. THE PEACE OF PRAGUE, 1635

After seventeen campaigns, the ruin of much of the country, the intrusion of many foreign powers, and the growth of the conviction that neither the Catholics nor the Protestants could be conquered, the German princes attempted to end the war by a negotiated peace. This took the form of a practical compromise between Lutherans and Catholics, arranged by the Emperor and Saxony, with compensation to the Elector of Brandenburg and some other princes if they acceded. All Unions and Leagues were to be dissolved, Catholic and Lutheran princes to be reinstated, and foreign armies, especially the Swedish, driven out by their united force. The general provision is set out below. It contained no promise of restitution for the Palatinate House, which had begun the war. Many German princes accepted these terms of settlement, but the demands of the Swedes for compensation, and the political interests of France as conceived by Richelieu, prolonged the war by many years.

SOURCE—Schilling, pp. 170–4.

[MEDIATE estates of the church appropriated by Lutheran princes before the treaty of Passau (1552) to be retained by them.]

As for ' immediate ' . . . and those, whether mediate or immediate . . . which have come into the hands of the Lutherans since Passau those . . . who held them on 12 November 1627 shall retain them peacefully for forty years from the conclusion of this agreement.

[The Elector of Saxony gains Magdeburg for his son, for life, but records his failure to obtain in Bohemia and other Austrian lands the restoration of religious liberty to those Lutherans who enjoyed it in 1612.]

86. THE ABSTENTION OF ENGLAND, 1642

The domestic troubles which kept the foremost Protestant power from direct participation in the war came to a head in 1642. The following extract from the foremost prose-writer in the age of Milton exemplifies the great part commonly played in war by chance.

SOURCE—Clarendon, pp. 289–291.

WHEN the King set up his standard at Nottingham [25 August 1642] he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his standard would have suffered it to be. . . . Besides some few of the trained bands, which Sir John Digby, the active Sheriff of that county, drew into the old ruinous castle there, there were not of foot levied for the service yet 300 men. So that they who were not overmuch given to fear, finding very many places in that great river, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an army for defence but the standard set up, began sadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own person. . . . All the strength he had to depend upon was his horse, which were under the command of Prince Rupert at Leicester, and were not at that time in number above 800, few better armed than with swords ; whilst the enemy had, within less than twenty miles [at Northampton], double the number of horse excellently armed and appointed, and a body of 5,000 foot well trained and disciplined. . . . It could never be understood, why that army did not then march directly to Nottingham ; which if it had done . . . if he had escaped, he might have been pursued by one regiment of horse till he had quitted the Kingdom. But God blinded his enemies, so that they made not the least advance towards Nottingham.

87. CHARACTER OF THE WAR—DEVASTATION AND TORTURE

Accurate estimates of the extent of the ruin in Germany wrought between 1618 *and* 1648 *are unattainable. Probably between one-third and one-half of the population perished. In Franconia laymen were allowed to take two wives apiece. (i) The Swedish archives contain a list of castles, towns and villages which were burned, chiefly by the Swedish forces. (ii) The burgomaster of Tangermünde describes what he had himself been forced to witness.*

SOURCES—(i) Schilling, p. 183. (ii) Rittner: *sub anno* 1638.

(i) CASTLES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES DESTROYED

	Castles.	Towns.	Villages.
Pomerania, Mecklenburg and Holstein	203	307	2041
Mark of Brandenburg	48	60	5000
Meissen	96	155	1386
Silesia	118	36	1025
Moravia	63	22	333
Bohemia	215	80	813
Austria	51	23	313
Palatinate	109	106	807
Franconia	44	26	313
Voigtland and Thuringia	68	41	409
Merseburg, Halle, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim	217	103	1105
Brunswick, Lüneburg, Bremen	50	38	406
Osnabrück, Minden, Padeborn, Vosges, Fulda, Welda	213	304	1027
Westphalia	119	97	1019
Cologne, Mayence, Trèves	327	205	2033
Würzburg	15	10	80
Near Limburg and Switzerland	20	16	200
Total.	1976	1629	18,310

Not including the almost incredible number in Muscovy, Livonia, Lithuania, Prussia and Poland, nor the many thousands of convents and noble houses . . . which they

sent up in flames. They can boast of their craft in benefiting their own realm by ruining iron-foundries and mines on all sides.

(ii) A Burgomaster on Outrage

Some they roasted at the fire, flung them into the oven, drowned them in wells, hung them up by the feet, set thumb-screws upon them, drove sharp spikes under their nails, twisted cords round their heads so that their eyes started out, thrust gags into their mouths and bound them tight . . . so that husbands must forsake their wives and wives their husbands, parents their children and children their parents, even though these were lying sick, and sometimes when they came back they found nothing of them save some few bones, for all else had the dogs devoured.

88. THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 24 OCTOBER, 1648

The treaty of Prague (1635), *though eagerly accepted by many German States, had failed to end the war of* 1618, *since France found it profitable to prolong hostilities and Sweden found it unprofitable to conclude them on any terms that could be conceded. Negotiations, indeed, were set on foot in* 1636 *and were almost continuous from* 1641. *So widespread was the war, however, that a mediator could scarcely be found. The King of Denmark must be unacceptable to Sweden, and the Pope, or even Venice, to the Protestants, while the King of England was engaged in war at home. In* 1643, *however, the Imperialists and the Swedes, with their respective allies, formed a congress at Osnabrück, and the Imperialists and the French likewise a congress at Münster, so that by* 1 *June,* 1645, *definite proposals could be made. Progress towards peace was hastened by the fact that Sweden, resenting the persistent intrigues of Christian IV of Denmark, suddenly attacked him in* 1643, *and secured the triumphant treaty of Brömsebro in* 1645. *The opposition of Bavaria, moreover, was overcome by invasion, and the autumn of* 1648 *gave central and northern Europe a general peace. This settled the constitution not only of Germany but of Europe as a whole, causing both to become loose associations of many substantially independent states. The medieval Europe of one religion, with Pope and Emperor as its officers, was definitely dead, and the modern system of equal independent territorial states had replaced it.*

It must be added that Spain, which had made peace with the Dutch in January, 1648, *continued to be at war with France and Savoy on the*

one hand and with Portugal on the other. (*i*) *An analysis of the treaties and* (*ii*) *a satirical verse upon them from the German point of view follow.*

(i) Analysis of the Treaties

Sources—Dumont, VI, p. 429. Reich, p. 4. Koch and Schoell, I, p. 1 (full summary).

Peace of Osnabrück

Article.

I. Peace concluded between The Emperor and Sweden and their respective allies and adherents (non-Sovereign allies).

[1] M. 2. II. General amnesty.

III. Particulars of the application of the amnesty.

IV.

M. 11. 3. The electoral dignity of the Palatinate, the Upper Palatinate and the county of Cham, handed over to Bavaria.

M. 13. 5. An eighth electorate created and given to the deprived Elector Palatine and his heirs.

M. 14. 6. The Lower Palatinate restored to the Elector Palatine.

M. 17. 9. The electoral dignity together with the Upper Palatinate shall return to the Elector Palatine if the heirs male of William of Bavaria cease. The eighth electorate will then end.

M. 22. 14. The Elector Palatine renounces his right to the Upper Palatinate.

M. 47. V. Religious Grievances.

1. Confirmation of the Convention of Passau (1552) and of the religious peace of Augsburg (1555).

2. 1st January 1624 chosen as the date of the *status quo* to which return shall be made.

15. The Ecclesiastical Reservation. Catholics or Lutherans holding an ecclesi-

[1] Corresponding clauses in the Peace of Münster, marked M.

Article.

astical dignity to vacate it and its income if they change their religion.

21. The investiture of Protestant Prelates to take place when they have taken the due oaths.

34. Toleration given to those who, in 1624, had not the right to exercise their religion, being subjects of a lord of the other faith.

35. Subjects whose religion differs from that of their prince are to have equal rights with his other subjects.

36. Those emigrating for religious reasons retain the administration of their property.

43. The religious position in provinces where the lordship is contested.

50. Disputes about the religious peace of Augsburg and the peace of Westphalia to be carried before the Diet. All doctrines contrary to these treaties are forbidden.

M. 61. VI. The independence of the Swiss is acknowledged.

M. 47. VII. 1. The Reformed [Calvinists] are to have equal rights in religion and other matters with the other states and subjects.

2. . . . but, besides the religions named [Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist] above, no other shall be accepted or tolerated in the Holy Roman Empire.

M. 62. VIII. 1. A confirmation of the ancient rights of the states of the Empire.

M. 63. 2. The right to vote in the Diet on all matters, and to make alliances.

M. 64. 3. Diets to be held whenever necessary.

Article.

X. 2. Hither-Pomerania, and Rügen, Stettin and the mouth of the Oder are ceded to Sweden.
3. These to be held as a fief of the Empire.
6. Wismar ceded to Sweden.
7. The Archbishopric of Bremen and the Bishopric of Verden, to Sweden.
9. A vote and a seat in the Diet given to Sweden in virtue of these lands. Her king stands fifth in the College of Princes.
11. A vote and place given to Sweden conjointly with Brandenburg in the deputations of the Empire.

XI. 1. To the Elector of Brandenburg is ceded the Bishopric of Halberstadt;
4. The Bishopric of Minden;
5. The Bishopric of Camin;
6. The reversion of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg on the death of the Administrator Augustus of Saxony.

M. 100–103.
XVI. 1–6. The execution of the peace.
8. Five million rixdollars to be paid to the Swedish Army besides 600,000 to the Swedish crown.
9. Evacuation and payment to take place simultaneously.

M. 106–107. 14. Evacuated districts to be restored to their legitimate lords.

M. 112.
XVII. 2. The peace to be a fundamental law.

M. 114–115. 5–6. The peace guaranteed by its signatories. They agree to unite against anyone transgressing it. If any clause be violated the party aggrieved will submit the case to friendly settlement or

the ordinary course of justice, and if neither of these methods can end the dispute within three years all and each of the parties to this arrangement who are concerned are bound to help the injured party to redress with their counsels and forces.

Clauses in the Peace of Münster which are not included in that of Osnabrück

1. Peace concluded between the Emperor and France, and their respective supporters.

69–70. The Bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun ceded to France.

72–74. Cession to France of Pinerolo, Breisach, Alsace and the Sundgau. The terms of the cession in regard to Alsace were extremely obscure.

76. The right of garrisoning Philippsburg given to France.

82. No fortress to be constructed on the right bank of the Rhine between Basel and Philippsburg.

85. Restoration by France of its conquests. Free passage of the Rhine for the inhabitants and trade of the adjoining states.

(ii) The 'German' Peace

Source—Schilling, p. 185.

What is the price of our peace? Uncounted the years fled away.

What is the price of our peace? Uncounted the heads turned to grey.

What is the price of our peace? The bloodshed outrunning all measure.

What is the price of our peace? The tons beyond counting of treasure.

Are there men whom the peace can console for all the anarchical deeds?

Men there are. Ask of echo their name. And echo gives answer, 'The Swedes'.

VII

EUROPE, 1648 TO 1661

89. THE BARRICADES IN PARIS, 1648

'Westphalia and the Barricades came together', and Richelieu's work was imperilled by popular uprisings. To challenge authority by paralysing the capital continued to be possible until the days of broad thoroughfares and machine-guns. Mazarin, a foreigner and the minister of a mere regent, had to make head against the feeling here displayed, and distrust of the Parisians was ingrained in Louis XIV.

Source—MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, printed by Ranke, *F.G.*, 227.

On Wednesday, 26th August 1648, immediately after the Te Deum, which was sung at Notre Dame for a decisive victory won in Flanders near Lens by the Prince de Condé, the Queen had the President de Blancmesnil, and the Sieur de Brouxelles, taken prisoner, two of the principal leaders of the faction which had arisen some time before against the authority of their Majesties, who, under pretext of wishing to relieve the people by restricting the rights of the King, had plunged them into greater misery. The stupid people, forgetting the evils which the Barricades of 1588 had brought upon their fathers and themselves, barricaded themselves again at the soliciting of factions and disloyal Frenchmen, in order to oblige their Majesties to set free their tribunes. For this cause they stirred up a troop of mariners who pursued the carriage in which the Sr de Brouxelles was being conveyed so energetically that its perch broke. Seeing which the guards, who were conveying the Sr de Brouxelles, put him cleverly into another carriage which took them to the Cardinal's Palace, where their Majesties were lodged, at the door of which there was a

carriage with six horses which was waiting for them, and which took them to St. Germain en Laye. However, by the trick of the rebels the whole town was warned, especially the island of the Palace, whither the guards, who had guarded the King going and returning from Notre Dame, had hastened, to make the rioters retreat. But they did not know how to accomplish it ; nor did the grand master of artillery nor the coadjutor of Paris with his square cap who harangued them to try and make them reopen their shops ; but he could not succeed ; nor could the captains of the guard and other important officers, so that the trouble became very great not only in the neighbourhood of the Palace, but also in that of the Cardinal's palace : the rue St. Honoré was in extreme uproar owing to the cunning contrivance of a seditious apothecary, captain of his quarter, who was so insolent that he himself was going to place sentinels near those of the King ; the common people won over by the factionists crying ' To arms ! ' were breaking the windows of the more well-to-do citizens and merchants in order to force them to come out and join them, which they did not dare to do yet without an order from the town, being content to shut their shops so that at two o'clock in the afternoon it seemed as if it were a feast-day, everything being shut. There were no artisans, not even the most petty, who had not left their work, except in the rue du Montmartre, where I live, which still respected the royal authority. During this time some companies of the guards marched through the streets, which were up in arms, with tinder alight and bullet in mouth to try to make the rioters retire. But they were so insolent that they laughed at them and at their march. The grand Master was struck twice by stones before escaping from these rogues. Thus the uproar continued till night.

90. MONARCHY AND COMMONWEALTH IN BRITAIN

The execution of Charles I, on grounds which challenged the contemporary theory of sovereignty, and in circumstances which favoured the growth of a belief that the King was a saint and martyr, powerfully

affected all European history during the remainder of our period. As the poet wrote :

He nothing common did nor mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But laid his comely head
Down as upon a bed.

' His blood was taken up by divers persons for different ends : by some as trophies of their villainy ; by others as relics of a martyr ; and in some hath the same effect, by the blessing of God, which was often found in his sacred touch when living.'

This event and its consequences, together with the sharply contrasted nature of Cromwell's rule, are illustrated in the extracts which follow.

(i) The Storming of Tredah, 1648. Oliver Cromwell to the Speaker of the Parliament of England

Source—Carlyle, I, p. 466.

Dublin, 17 *September* 1648.

. . . Being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused, whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames : ' God damn me, God confound me ; I burn, I burn.'

The next day, the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score ; but they refused to yield themselves, and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were . . . shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. . . .

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so clear? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory.

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public mass there: and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff (brother to the Lord Taaff), whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of; the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him. . . .

I do not think we lost one hundred men upon the place, though many be wounded. . . .

(ii) Defence and Sentence of Charles I

Source—(α) Works of Charles I, I, p. 454. Robinson, p. 243. (β) Gardiner, 290.

[The King claimed that he desired the freedom of the people as much as anyone] but their liberty and freedom

consist in having of government, those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in government . . . ; a subject and a sovereign are clear different things. . . . Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here. If I would have given way . . . to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here ; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the martyr of the people.

(β) Death Warrant of Charles I

At the High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, January 29, Anno Domini 1648.

Whereas Charles Stuart, King of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes ; and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body ; of which sentence, execution yet remaineth to be done ; these are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, soldiers, and others, the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

To Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Huncks, and Lieut.-Col. Phayre, and to every of them.

Given under our hands and seals.

John Bradshaw.
Thomas Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
etc., etc. [47 other names].

(iii) The Immediate Consequences

Source—Clarendon, p. 698.

This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed . . . in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great vigour of body, that when his murderers caused him to be opened, (which they did, and were some of them present at it with great curiosity,) they confessed and declared, ' that no man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt : and that he seemed to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have lived as long as nature could subsist '. His body . . . was exposed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a coffin, and so carried to St. James's ; where he likewise remained several days. [At Windsor, the form of the Common Prayer Book being vetoed by the governor of the castle,] the King's body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. . . .

The kings and princes of Christendom . . . made haste and sent over that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch. Cardinal Mazarin . . . had long adored the conduct of Cromwell . . . purchased the rich beds, hangings and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris. [The Spanish Ambassador] who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many pictures and other precious goods . . . as, being sent in ships to the Corunna in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and some pictures of a great price, and received Cromwell's ambassador with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with them. The archduke Leopold, who was governor of Flanders, disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures. . . . In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell . . . to extinguish monarchy in this renowned Kingdom.

(iv) Puritan Summary of the Civil Wars

Source—Wallington, I, p. li. (To Mr. Cole, 22 August, 1650.)

We have had three wars already. The first was a prelatical war, in the year 1639 and 1640, when the King with a great army of malignants went against Scotland . . . secondly, we had a profane war, in the year 1642, . . . when the army of wicked wretches adhered unto him to maintain all manner of wickedness, superstition, Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, oppression, plays and all manner of profaneness. Then was God's mercy seen in giving us a great victory at Kynton, at Marston Moor near York, and at Naseby there was God seen. Thirdly, we had a hypocritical war, in the year 1648, which was when the Scots did come under pretence of the maintaining of the Covenant. . . . And now, behold, a fourth war is broke forth (it makes me tremble to think of it), and I know not how to term it, for brethren goeth to war against brethren, contrary to their covenant. And the prayers of God's people go cross against one another.

(v) The Character of Cromwell

Source—Clarendon, pp. 862–864.

Without doubt, no man . . . brought to pass what he desired more wickedly . . . yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution. . . . As he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them. . . . After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few. . . . What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority. . . . In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. . . . To-

wards all who . . . courted his protection he used a wonderful civility, generosity and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that . . . wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. . . . There is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. . . .

He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavelli's method, which prescribes, upon any alteration of government . . . to cut all the heads of those . . . who are friends to the old one. . . . In a word, as he had all the wickedness . . . for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man.

91. QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN, 1632–54

'The history of Sweden is the history of her kings,' and six years' misgovernment by the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus shook the foundations of the state. Until 1648, *Axel Oxenstierna ruled, but the Swedes were then compelled to suffer a parody of Elizabeth of England, which emptied the treasury and disorganized society. The reign produced a unique historical document—a character-sketch of the Queen written by Chanut, the French ambassador, and annotated by Christina herself. Her abdication, conversion to Catholicism and subsequent adventures became the talk of Europe.*

SOURCE—Geijer, p. 323.

WHEN one sees her for the first time, she does not excite the same admiration as upon more intimate knowledge. For the most part she appears thoughtful. . . . If we may conclude from outward appearances of her internal thoughts, she has a deep religious feeling, and is sincerely devoted to Christianity; yet she seems to trouble herself less as to the mutual disputes of the Christians, than the objections of the Jews, heathens, and philosophers against

Christian doctrine. What is not accordant with the gospel she looks upon as triviality, and shows no bitterness in the controversies between the evangelicals and the catholics. [She was never a Lutheran.—Christina.] For the rest, she is not scrupulous and affects no ceremonious devotion. [She was never infected by this disease.—Christina.] . . . She is passionately fond of honour. . . . Her desire of learning would be instructed on all subjects. . . . In council, her ministers find it difficult to discover to what side she inclines ; she knows how to keep a secret [Quite true.—Christina], and, as she does not let herself be taken in by any stories, she appears mistrustful and hard to persuade. [She never rued this failing.—Christina.] It can hardly be conceived how great her power is in the senate. [Nonsense ! But how laughably ill-informed he is.—Christina.] The lords of the council are astonished at the power which she has over them, when they are assembled. [The contrary rather might excite surprise.—Christina.] Some ascribe to her quality of woman the great attachment which her ministers show to her. [The qualities of women are not adapted to procure themselves obedience.—Christina.] She is sparing of her time, and sleeps but five hours. [Three hours.—Christina.] In summer she sleeps an hour in the afternoon. [False.—Christina.].

92. THE TREATY OF THE PYRENEES, 7 NOVEMBER, 1659

Although the question of Condé's punishment long delayed peace between France and Spain, Mazarin at last succeeded in ending the struggle of forty years. To dishonour neither side the negotiators met on an island in the river which divided the two countries.

Sources—Koch and Schoell, I, pp. 287–299. Reich, pp. 365–376.

2–32. Permission given for the reciprocal establishment of consuls, enjoying the privileges of their office.

Neither country will allow its subjects to furnish contraband to the enemies of the other. All defensive and offensive weapons, munitions of war, horses and their equipment, and apparatus for war are to be considered

contraband, but provisions are excepted. In cases of infringement these goods will be confiscated, but the ships containing them, and any free goods that there may be, will not be included in this penalty.

In case of rupture six months' grace will be given in which the subjects of either may withdraw themselves and their possessions from the territory of the other.

33. A marriage arranged between Louis XIV and the Infanta Maria-Theresa. A dowry of 500,000 gold crowns promised in the marriage settlement, by which the latter renounced all claim to the throne of Spain, and by which her descendants were expressly excluded from the Spanish line of succession.

35–38. France is to keep: in the County of Artois, all save Aire and St. Omer, and their dependencies; in the County of Flanders, Gravelines, Bourbourg, Saint-Venant, and their dependencies; in the County of Hainault, Landrécy, Le Quesnoy, and their dependencies; and in the Duchy of Luxemburg, Thionville, Montmédy, Damvillers, Ivoy, Chavancy, Marville, and their dependencies.

39–40. By an exchange France is to receive Marienburg, Philippeville, Avesnes, and their dependencies between the Sambre and the Meuse.

42–43. France to retain the counties of Rousillon and Conflans; Spain, the principality of Catalonia and the county of Cerdaigne. In the case of Conflans and Cerdaigne districts lying respectively to the south and north of the Pyrenees remain Spanish and French. The line of the Pyrenees is to be determined by a boundary commission, whereupon it will form the frontier of the two states.

44–45. Spain re-enters the County of Charolais, La Bassée, and Berg-Saint-Vinox; France restores to Spain, Ypres, Oudenarde, Dixmude, Furnes and Knocke, Merville on the Lys, Menin and Comines, and their dependencies.

46–48. In Italy, France restores to Spain Valenza and Mortara; in Burgundy, Saint Amour, Bleterans, Joux and all other posts occupied by her armies; on the coast of Spain, all her conquests.

49. Spain restores Rocroi, Castelet and Linchamp.

60. France promises to give no assistance whatever, direct or indirect, to the kingdom of Portugal.

61. The King of Spain renounces his claims to Alsace, Sundgau and the other places ceded to France by the Peace of Münster.

62–79. The Duke of Lorraine is restored to his duchy, without Moyenvic, the duchy of Bar and the county of Clermont which have been transferred to France. He is to make no alliance against France, and is to give French troops the right of free passage.

80–87. Louis XIV pardons Condé and his friends and relations. They are restored to their former positions, offices and rights, save that, for the governorship of Guienne, Condé receives that of Burgundy. Condé disbands his forces and presents to Louis Rocroi, Castelet and Linchamp.

91–123. The Dukes of Savoy and Modena, allies of France, are restored to the positions they held before the war.

93. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTH, 1660–61

The death, after almost incredible adventures, of Charles X, 'the Swedish Napoleon', removed a great obstacle to the termination of a struggle between Sweden and Poland, which had divided the house of Vasa for more than sixty years. At the same time the still older rivalry between Sweden and Denmark entered on a new phase with the cession of Danish provinces lying within sight of Copenhagen. Brandenburg and Russia, two new powers, made a considerable advance in dignity. Oliva is a Cistercian monastery near Danzig; Kardis, a vanished village in Livonia.

Sources—Koch and Schoell, XII. (i) p. 339 *seq.* (ii) p. 287 *seq.* (iii) pp. 384–387.

(i) The Peace of Oliva, May 1660

1. Peace concluded between Poland, Brandenburg and the Emperor on one side, and Sweden on the other.

2. A general amnesty proclaimed. All are to enjoy such legal rights and privileges, both in spiritual and secular matters, as they enjoyed before the war. [These provisions, altered to meet their needs, also applied to the Emperor in cl. 22, and to Brandenburg in cl. 24.]

3. John Casimir, King of Poland, abandoned his claims to the throne of Sweden, and to Finland.

4. Poland cedes to Sweden Livonia, beyond the R. Düna, Esthonia and Osel, subject to freedom of worship for the Catholics in Livonia.

5. If either side, Poland or Sweden, reconquers from Russia a part of Livonia belonging to the other, it shall be handed over. Boundary disputes are to be decided by commissioners named for the purpose.

6. Restoration of the Duke of Courland.

7. The Swedes evacuate Royal Prussia [Western, or Polish Prussia] and restore to Poland the garrisoned towns of Marienburg, Elbing, etc.

22. The Emperor restores to Sweden all the districts in Mecklenburg and Pomerania occupied by his troops, and to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, an ally of Sweden, the occupied districts in Holstein and Schleswig.

All disputes about Germany are to be settled according to the laws of the Empire and the settlement of Westphalia. [The disputes referred to arose from the provisions and execution of the Peace of Westphalia.]

25. Sweden renounces for ever the bonds of vassalage she had imposed, in the course of the war, on Brandenburg.

26. Brandenburg restores the districts belonging to Sweden and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp occupied by her in conjunction with the Emperor.

35. All parties guarantee the peace and promise to unite to help anyone attacked in contravention of its terms. If anyone is injured in any other way than by recourse to arms, a general commission shall settle the point of difference.

36. France guarantees the Treaty. Other powers may also be invited to do so.

(ii) The Treaty of Copenhagen, 27 May, 1660

1–2. Peace established. A mutual renunciation of all alliances not in accord with a good understanding between the two contracting powers, Denmark and Sweden.

3. Swedish vessels of all kinds are exempted from the payment of dues in the passage of the Sound or the Great Belt, and are freed from all formalities beyond the production of their passports. Swedish goods on foreign ships are also exempt if accompanied by adequate certificates.

4. Confirmation of the cession to Sweden of Skaane, Halland, Bleking and Bohus, with their dependencies, together with the island of Hven.

5. The island of Bornholm reserved for future discussion [ultimately it passed to Denmark in exchange for certain estates in Skaane 1660].

7. A settlement, on a basis of equality, of the question of salutes at sea.

8. Three months' notice must be given if either king wishes to traverse the Sound or the Belt with more than 1,200 men, or more than 5 warships.

12–13. The King of Sweden promises to maintain the rights, privileges and property of the estates in the ceded provinces.

15. Sweden renounces all her Danish conquests, notably in Seeland, Laaland, and Falster.

17. Sweden renounces all her rights over Trondhjem.

20. Subjects in the ceded provinces are allowed to leave them.

29. The Emperor, Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburg are included in the peace.

(iii) The Peace of Kardis, June 1661

1. Peace between Russia and Sweden.

3–4. Russia restores all her conquests in Livonia.

6. The frontiers are to be drawn by a commission.

10–11. The subjects of both nations shall be allowed certain houses for trade in the towns, in which they may practise their religion, without the power of building new churches there.

18. Merchants may go to and fro with their goods, if they declare them. Doctors, surgeons and artisans shall not be refused leave to travel in Russia.

24–25. Disputes between subjects of the two nations shall be settled by commissioners delegated for the purpose.

94. THE RESTORATION IN BRITAIN

Source—Pepys, p. 100.

October 13, 1660. I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the king beheaded at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the king at Charing Cross.

* * * * *

Source—Evelyn, p. 271.

Jan. 30, 1661. Was the first solemn fast and day of humiliation to deplore the sins which so long had provoked God against this afflicted church and people, ordered by Parliament to be annually celebrated to expiate the guilt of the execrable murder of the late king.

This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgements of God!) were the carcasses of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw, the judge who condemned his Majesty, and Ireton, son-in-law to the usurper, dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from 9 in the morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at November the 22, 1658 (Oliver's funeral) and be astonished! and feare God and honour the king; but meddle not with them who are given to change.

VIII

THE ASCENDANCY OF LOUIS XIV, 1661–84

95. COLBERT AND THE AGGRANDISEMENT OF FRANCE

From the beginning of the personal rule of Louis XIV in 1661 *until his own death in* 1683, *Colbert supplied so much of the energy and policy of France and so deeply impressed his ideas upon Europe that some of his dicta seem indispensable to the history of the age of Louis XIV. The following extracts from his correspondence suggest the narrowness and ruthlessness which marked him out.*

SOURCE—Clément.

II. 845, 1670. IT is certain that the same quantity of goods is always consumed in Europe, and that trade therein profits each nation in proportion to the convenience of its situation and its diligence.

III. 395, 1665. One of the greatest needs of Canada is to establish manufactures there and to attract artisans for the things necessary for daily use, for hitherto clothes and even shoes have had to be imported, whether because the inhabitants have devoted themselves entirely to the production of their food, or because those who have governed them have been lazy. . . . M. Talon will incite the fathers to instil piety into their children, . . . then much love and respect for His Majesty's royal person, and next to train them early to work, for experience invariably teaches that idleness in the first years of life is the true source of all subsequent disorders. . . . As the expedition against the Iroquois is at an end, the King wishes M. Talon to invite the soldiers . . . to remain in the country [giving them a small bonus and land].

III. 486, 1670. . . . When you arrive in the West Indies, you will no doubt see at a glance how much it concerns the French inhabitants to keep foreigners at a distance ; and as the English will find it hard to re-establish themselves in their part of St. Kitt's when they find it entirely abandoned, be very careful to hinder the French from making any settlement or cultivation there, so that the English may never ask to have it back.

III. 487, 1670. . . . You could not do the King a more pleasing service than to disturb the Dutch in their trade and even to drive them from the islands, if this can be done without a direct breach of treaty ; as for example it might happen that if the Caribs attacked them you might help them secretly, or stir them up to attack . . . or provide them with arms and munitions, always being careful that the Dutch may gain no proof on which to base a complaint.

III. 491, 1670. A decree is necessary to drive away from our [West Indian] islands the Dutch, who have such a habit of monopolizing trade there (favoured as they are by all the islanders) that they cannot be got rid of without extraordinary severity.

VI. 266 . . . 1669. [The English should not ally themselves with a government of merchants like the Dutch] whose flourishing state may too clearly expose the difference with regard to trade between a monarchy and a republic, for peoples which are devoted to trade have no eyes for anything else, whereas alliance with the French produces an entirely contrary effect . . . sea power does not depend on population. . . . It is certain that the naval forces of a state are always proportionate to its commercial. . . . In the late war the Dutch dared to equal the power of England, and as their trade goes on growing so will their navy.

96. LOUIS XIV ON THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE MARRIAGE OF 1662

The considered defence of his policy, made by Louis XIV for his heir, is of high historical importance for his reign as a whole. The entente *with England was then, as so often in modern times, vital to*

France. It was also necessary that the independence of Portugal, lost in 1580, but regained with French help in 1640, should be preserved, so that the Habsburgs in Spain, like the Habsburgs in the Empire, might have a friend of France in their rear. Both objects were promoted by royal marriages. As to treaties and public faith, Louis ranks with Machiavelli and Bismarck.

SOURCE—Louis XIV, pp. 75–78.

THE marriage of my brother with the sister of the King of England had been concluded in the month of March, at which I had been greatly pleased, and for reasons of state also; for my alliance with that nation when under Cromwell had, as it were, struck the last blow in the Spanish wars, reducing my enemies to the position of no longer being able to defend the Low Countries at all, and consequently giving me also, had I wished, the greatest advantages not accorded to me by the treaty of the Pyrenees. Matters in England had since changed their aspect. Cromwell was dead, and the King re-established on his throne. The Spaniards, getting ready their resources for Flanders in case of a rupture with me, and expecting nothing from Holland at the time, were looking for any means to win over that Prince to their interests. The marriage of my brother served to retain him in my own; but what I determined to propose to the King himself on the part of the Princess of Portugal, seemed as if it must take him away entirely from Spain, and produce two other more considerable results in my favour. The first was to enable me to uphold the Portuguese, whom I saw were in danger of succumbing without my support; the second was to give me more freedom to aid them myself if I judged this to be necessary, notwithstanding the treaty of the Pyrenees which precluded me from doing so.

I will here touch upon a question which is perhaps a more delicate one in the conduct of Princes than any other. I am very far from wishing to teach you infidelity, and I think I have shown to all Europe a short while back by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle what great store I set on my word when once it has been given, preferring it exclusively to my greatest interests. But there is a distinction to be made in

these matters which right judgment, equity and conscience can make far better than any discourse. The position of the two crowns of France and Spain is of such a kind to-day, and has long been so in the eyes of the world, that the one cannot be raised without lowering the other. This produces a jealousy between them which, if I may say so, is essential to them, also a kind of permanent hostility which treaties may hide but can never extinguish, because the root-cause always remains, and because either of them, working against the other, does not think so much of injuring the other as of maintaining and preserving himself—a duty which is so natural that it easily takes precedence of all others.

And to tell the truth, and without disguise, they never enter into any treaty but in this spirit. Whatever specious clauses referring to union and friendship are inserted with a view to procuring for themselves respectively all manner of advantages, the real sense, understood very well by both from the experience of many centuries, is that each shall abstain from any kind of open hostilities and all demonstrations of bad faith ; for as regards secret infractions that will make no stir, each expects them from the other from the natural principle I have mentioned, and only promises the contrary in the same sense as the other has promised. And so we may say that, each dispensing themselves in an equal degree from observing the treaties, there is no contravention strictly speaking, because the wording is not taken literally, although none other can be employed, just as is done in the world in the wording of compliments (to take a different kind of case) which are absolutely necessary in our daily intercourse, and are far less significant than they sound.

The Spaniards showed us the example first. Whatever the state of profound peace we were observing towards them, have they ever missed an occasion of fomenting disorders in our midst and during our civil wars, and has their special quality as Catholics prevented them at any time from providing money surreptitiously to the rebel

Huguenots? They are constantly at pains to welcome with costly attentions all who leave this country in discontent, even nobodies and persons of no consideration; not that they are ignorant of what condition they are, but to demonstrate by this means what they are ready to do for people of more importance. Lastly, I could not have any doubt that they had been the first to violate the treaty of the Pyrenees, and in a thousand different ways, and I should have felt myself to have been wanting in the duty I owe to my States if, through a more scrupulous observance than their own, I had allowed them a free hand to ruin Portugal in order to fall upon me afterwards with all their forces, and by troubling the peace of Europe to take back all that they had given me by that Treaty. As to the clauses in which they precluded me from rendering assistance to that still insecure Crown, the more unusual, oft-repeated and carefully safeguarded they were, the more did they make clear that they did not believe that I was bound to abstain from doing so; and the only deference I thought I should observe towards these clauses consisted in only aiding them (the Portuguese) from necessity, secretly, with moderation and restraint. And this was possible in a more convenient manner through the interposition, and in the name of the King of England, when once he became the brother-in-law of the King of Portugal.

97. THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 2 MAY, 1668

The question of the succession to the great Spanish empire whose dynasty was obviously failing occupied the mind of Louis XIV through all his adult years. In 1667 *he engaged in the so-called War of Devolution, for the 'rights' of his Spanish queen, but stopped short when threatened by the Triple Alliance of the English, Dutch and Swedes. The treaty of peace made no mention of the queen's claims nor of her renunciation when espousing the King of France. Next year* (1669) *the powers of the Triple Alliance guaranteed the treaty.*

Source—Koch and Schoell, I, p. 336.

3–4. '. . . His Most Christian Majesty will remain vested with, and will enjoy complete possession of, all the

strongholds, forts and places, which his arms have occupied or fortified during the campaign of last year [1667]: that is to say, of the fortress of Charleroi, the towns of Binch and Ath, the strongholds of Douai, including the fort of Scarpe, Tournai, Oudenarde, Lille, Armentières, Courtrai, Bergues and Furnes, and of the whole compass of their bailiwicks, castle-wards, territories, governments, provostships, appurtenances, dependencies and annexes.'

5. [France restores the Franche-Comté to Spain.]

7. [The two kings consent that all powers so wishing may guarantee the provisions of the Treaty.]

98. THE PEACE OF NYMEGEN, 1678–79

'In Holland, the old political system of France collapsed' (Mignet). Having gone to war, in 1672, with one power, Louis had to make peace with five, on the terms summarized below.

SOURCE—Koch and Schoell, I, 367–377.

France and the United Provinces, 10th August, 1678

VIII. '. . . . HIS Most Christian Majesty . . . will, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, re-establish the United Provinces in possession of the town of Maestricht . . . etc.'

[The United Provinces thus regained their pre-war boundary.]

France and Spain, 17th September, 1678

IV–V. France ceded to Spain, Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Oudenarde and Courtrai, etc., as possessed by Spain before the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; also Limburg, Ghent, Waes, etc., and, in Catalonia, Puycerda.

XI. Spain ceded to France, Franche-Comté and its dependencies including Besançon, and, on the north-east frontier, Valenciennes, Cambrai and the Cambrésis, Aire, Poperinghue, St. Omer, Ypres, Condé, Bouchain, Maubeuge, etc.

The Emperor, with France and Sweden, 5th February, 1679

2. The Peace of Münster to stand in its entirety, save where it is expressly altered in this settlement.

4–6. France gave up the right of garrisoning Philippsburg, receiving in return Freiburg and free passage to it from Breisach.

12–22. The Duke of Lorraine was to be restored to his duchy, but on such onerous conditions that he refused them. [His son was ultimately re-established by the peace of Ryswick, 1697.]

As between the Emperor and Sweden, the Treaty of Westphalia was renewed.

France, Sweden and Brandenburg, at St. Germain-en-Laye, 29th June, 1679

The Elector surrendered to Sweden nearly all of his conquests in Pomerania, receiving in return only the reversion of East Friesland and an indemnity of 300,000 crowns.

99. THE DECLARATION OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH, 1682

Louis's advancing claims to ecclesiastical patronage had brought about a conflict between Pope Innocent XI and the French Church. A special assembly of Archbishops, Bishops and Deputies met at Paris in October, 1681, and in the following March endeavoured, at the instigation of Colbert, to define the exact relation between their Church and the Papacy. The Four Articles, drawn up by Bossuet, did not terminate the conflict with Rome, which lasted nine years longer.

SOURCE—Reich, p. 379.

MANY people are striving to overthrow the decrees of the Gallican Church . . . and to destroy the foundations of its liberties, which are based on the sacred canons and on the tradition of the Fathers; others, under the pretext of defending them, have the audacity to attack the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, the Popes of Rome . . . The heretics, for their part, are doing their utmost to make this power, which keeps the peace of the Church, intolerable to kings and peoples. . . .

Wishing to remedy this state of affairs . . .

Article I. . . . We declare that Kings and Sovereigns are not, by God's command, subject to any ecclesiastical power in temporal matters; that they cannot be deposed, directly or indirectly, by the authority of the heads of the Church; that their subjects cannot be dispensed from obedience, nor absolved from the oath of allegiance. . . .

Article II. [The plenitude of power in spiritual matters possessed by St. Peter and his successors, none the less remains, as laid down by the decrees of the Council of Constance.]

Article III. Thus the use of the apostolic power must be regulated, by following the canons made by the Holy Spirit and sanctified by universal reverence. The rules, customs and constitutions accepted in the realm and Church of France must have their strength and virtue . . . since the greatness of the Holy See requires that the laws and customs established with its consent and that of the Churches remain invariable.

Article IV. Although the Pope has the chief voice in questions of faith, and his decrees apply to all churches and to each particular church, yet his decision is not unalterable unless the consent of the Church is given.

Article V. [These maxims sent to all the French bishops and churches that they may be unanimous.]

100. THE TRUCE OF RATISBON (REGENSBURG), 1684

While the Emperor was distracted by the Turks, and France grew ever stronger, the tribunals known as Chambres de Réunion examined the extent of the fiefs ceded to France in 1648. *Their 'hollow sophistry' drew immense profit from the obscurities of the treaty, but the Germans could not resist. In* 1684, *the year after Vienna had been unexpectedly saved by the Poles from the Turkish invaders, they agreed to the arrangement summarized below—a landmark in the question of Alsace-Lorraine. Louis XIV thus attained the zenith of his power.*

SOURCE—Koch and Schoell, I, pp. 379–389.

1–6. A TRUCE of twenty years concluded between France, the Emperor and the Empire. France retained everything

that she had obtained through the ' Chambres de Réunion ' up to 1st August 1681, including Strasburg ; the remainder to be returned.

8–9. Carefully worded clauses preventing religious innovations, contrary to the arrangements made by the Peace of Westphalia. The inhabitants, whether Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist, are assured free exercise of their religion and continued possession of ecclesiastical property.

10. Commissioners are to be appointed to define the boundary between France and the Emperor and, where necessary, to create one.

IX

THE DECLINE OF LOUIS XIV, 1685–1715

101. THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, OCTOBER 1685

The withdrawal of the religious privileges enjoyed by the Huguenots since 1598 was at once the supreme exercise of power by Louis XIV and the greatest cause of his downfall.

SOURCE—Reich, p. 382.

(i) THE REVOCATION

HENRY the Great, our grandfather, . . . wishing to preserve the peace that he had secured for his subjects . . . from being troubled on account of the so-called Reformed Religion . . . laid down, in his edict given at Nantes in the month of April 1598, the conduct which should be observed with regard to those of that religion, . . . in order that he might be in a better position to work, as he had resolved to do, to reunite to the Church those who had so lightly alienated themselves from it. . . .

. . . Our late Lord and Father . . . granted them a new edict at Nîmes in July 1629. Tranquillity having been re-established thereby, the late king, animated by the same spirit and by the same zeal for religion as the king our grandfather, had resolved to make use of the quiet to attempt to execute his pious intention; but foreign wars having arisen a few years later to prevent this, with the result that from 1635 until the truce concluded in 1684 . . . the realm had little time free from disturbances, it was impossible to do more for the advancement of the Faith

than to diminish the number of the celebrations of the so-called Reformed Religion by the interdiction of those which were found established prejudicial to the arrangements of the edict and by the suppression of the mixed tribunals (*chambres mi-parties*) whose erection had only been projected. God having at last granted that our people should enjoy perfect peace . . . and that we should be able to profit by this truce and should have opportunity to concentrate entirely on seeking the means of successfully attaining the design of . . . our father and grandfather . . ., we have decided that, to erase entirely the memory of the troubles, the confusion and the evils which the course of this false Religion has caused in our realm, . . . we can take no better step than to revoke completely the aforesaid Edict of Nantes . . . and all that has since been done in favour of that Religion.

Article I. [The Edicts of Nantes, 1598, and of Nîmes, 1629, together with all administrative ordinances thereon, are suppressed and revoked] . . . 'and we decree that all the temples of those of the aforesaid so-called Reformed Religion situated in our realm . . . be forthwith demolished.'

II. [The Huguenots are forbidden to assemble for purposes of their religion, or to celebrate it when lawfully assembled for other reasons.]

III. ['Seigneurs' of all grades are likewise forbidden domestic worship, whatever the rank of their fief.]

IV. [Huguenot ministers to emigrate or accept conversion within a fortnight] . . . during the aforesaid fortnight they are forbidden to hold any preaching, exhortation or other religious exercise, under pain of the galleys.

V. [Ministers who accept conversion to retain their former privileges and exemptions, to receive a pension one-third higher than their former salary, and their widows to continue in receipt of one half of this.]

VIII. [Children born of Huguenot parents to be baptized by the priests and to be brought up in the Catholic religion.]

IX. [Huguenots living abroad allowed possession of all

their goods if they return within four months; otherwise these will be confiscated.]

X. [Huguenots forbidden to emigrate or to send their goods abroad.]

XI. [The declarations against the relapsed are to be enforced.]

[The remnant of the Huguenots to live in France enjoying their possessions unmolested, provided that they make no attempt to celebrate their religion.]

(ii) St. Simon on the Effects

Source—St. John, III, p. 3.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes, without the slightest pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions that followed it, were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new spouse [1] was one of the chief conspirators, and which depopulated a quarter of the realm, ruined its commerce, weakened it in every direction, gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons, authorized torments and punishments by which so many innocent people of both sexes were killed by thousands; ruined a numerous class; tore in pieces a world of families; armed relatives against relatives, so as to seize their property and leave them to die of hunger; banished our manufactures to foreign lands, made those lands flourish and overflow at the expense of France, and enabled them to build new cities; gave to the world the spectacle of a prodigious population proscribed, stripped, fugitive, wandering, without crime, and seeking shelter far from its country; sent to the galleys, nobles, rich old men, people much esteemed for their piety, learning, and virtue, people well off, weak, delicate, and solely on account of religion; in fact, to heap up the measure of horror, filled all the realm with perjury and sacrilege in the midst of the echoed cries of these unfortunate victims of error, while so many others sacrificed their conscience to their wealth and their repose, and purchased both by simulated abjuration, from which without pause

[1] Mme. de Maintenon.

they were dragged to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive the divine body of the Saint of Saints while remaining persuaded that they were only eating bread which they ought to abhor! Such was the general abomination born of flattery and cruelty. From torture to abjuration, and from that to the communion, there was often only 24 hours' distance; and executioners were the conductors of the converts and their witnesses. Those who in the end appeared to have been reconciled, more at leisure did not fail by their flight or their behaviour to contradict their pretended conversion.

The King received from all sides news and details of these persecutions and of these conversions. It was by thousands that those who had abjured and taken the communion were counted, ten thousand in one place; six thousand in another—all at once and instantly. The King congratulated himself on his power and his piety. He believed himself to have renewed the days of the preaching of the Apostles, and attributed to himself all the honour. The Bishops wrote panegyrics of him, the Jesuits made the pulpit resound with his praises. All France was filled with horror and confusion; and yet there never was so much triumph and joy—never such profusion of laudations!

102. EUROPEAN REACTION AGAINST FRANCE: WILLIAM OF ORANGE

'The struggle between Louis XIV and William of Orange, ever natural opposites, forms and explains the history of western Europe during the later half of the seventeenth century. It was a duel between two men, two political principles, and two religions.' (*Bourgeois.*) *Without the exceptional character and position of William, France would have given the law to Europe for many years. 'I considered him as a person raised up by God to resist the power of France, and the progress of tyranny and persecution.'* (*Burnet.*)

SOURCE—Burnet, pp. 702–703.

His behaviour was solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few: he spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his

character at all times, except in a day of battle; for then he was all fire, though without passion: he was then everywhere, and looked to everything. He had no great advantage from his education; De Wit's discourses were of great use to him, and he, being apprehensive of the observation of those who were looking narrowly into everything he said or did, had brought himself under an habitual caution that he could never shake off, though in another scene it proved as hurtful as it was then necessary to his affairs: he spoke Dutch, French, English and German equally well; and he understood the Latin, Spanish and Italian, so that he was well fitted to command armies composed of several nations. He had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him; he was an exact observer of men and things; his strength lay rather in a true discerning and a sound judgment than in imagination or invention. His designs were always great and good; but it was thought he trusted too much to that, and that he did not descend enough to the humour of his people to make himself, and his notions, more acceptable to them: this, in a government that has so much of freedom in it as ours, was more necessary than he was inclined to believe: his reservedness grew on him, so that he disgusted most of those who served him; but he had observed the errors of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured, but he loved to employ and favour those who had the arts of complaisance; yet he did not love flatterers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct: great errors were often committed by him, but his heroical courage set things right, as it inflamed those who were about him: he was too lavish of money on some occasions, both in his buildings, and to his favourites, but too sparing in rewarding services, or in encouraging those who brought intelligence: he was apt to take ill impressions of people, and these stuck long with him, but he never carried them to indecent revenges; he gave too much way to his own humour almost in every-

thing, not excepting that which related to his own health ; he knew all foreign affairs well, and understood the state of every court in Europe very particularly ; he instructed his own ministers himself, but he did not apply enough to affairs at home : he tried how he could govern us by balancing the two parties one against another, but he came at last to be persuaded that the Tories were irreconcilable to him, and he was resolved to try and trust them no more. He believed the truth of the christian religion very firmly, and he expressed a horror at atheism and blasphemy ; and though there was much of both in his court, yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of sight. . . .

He loved the Dutch, and was much beloved among them ; but the ill returns he met from the English nation, their jealousies of him, and their perverseness towards him, had too much soured his mind, and had in a great measure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, though he saw the ill effects this had upon his business. He grew in his last years too remiss and careless as to all affairs ; till the treacheries of France awakened him, and the dreadful conjunction of the monarchies gave so loud an alarm to all Europe ; for a watching over that court, and a bestirring himself against their practices, was the prevailing passion of his whole life. . . . The series of the five princes of Orange, that was now ended in him, was the noblest succession of heroes that we find in any history. . . .

After all the abatements that may be allowed for his errors and faults, he ought still to be reckoned among the greatest princes that our history, or indeed that any other, can afford. He died in a critical time for his own glory ; since he had formed a great alliance, and had projected the whole scheme of the war ; so that if it succeeds, a great part of the honour of it will be ascribed to him ; and if otherwise, it will be said he was the soul of the alliance, that did both animate and knit it together, and that it was natural for that body to die and fall asunder, when he who gave it life was withdrawn.

103. EUROPE ON THE EVE OF WAR, 1687

Among the causes of French ascendancy, the skill of their diplomats ranked high. Louis XIV possessed and handled skilfully a corps *which no other state could rival. The memoirs of one of its most famous members, the Comte d'Avaux, show how the approach of the great crisis of the reign presented itself to this keen French observer at the Hague.*

SOURCE—D'Avaux, IV, pp. 138–140.

LETTER from the king, August 21, 1687. The king wrote to me, that how passionate soever the Prince of Orange was on the article of religion, the Prince knew the extent of His Majesty's power, and the flourishing state of his affairs so well, that he would find it a difficult matter to engage the United Provinces in a war with him.

September 11, 1687. I acquainted the king, that I had seen letters from some of the new converts in France, importing, that persons had been imprisoned for refusing to take the sacrament; and that this made them desperate, so that they resolved to quit France the first opportunity.

To M. Seignelay, September 11, 1687. I wrote him word, that a certain report was kindling of the severity with which the duties of import and export are raised; the merchants being out of all patience at being deprived of the liberty they have all along enjoyed, of only paying a small part of them, and very often nothing at all: that I was informed, many had actually given orders to send those goods directly to Hamburg, which they used to send to Amsterdam by the way of Germany; they choosing rather to have them laid up in that city, where the duties are much less, in order to send them afterwards to Germany, than to keep them in their warehouses at Amsterdam, and pay the duties for them with rigour. I was also informed, that some merchants of Rotterdam intended to send the wines they import from France to Dunkirk, because 'tis a free port, there to remain in order to be sent from thence to Germany and the North: I added, that I should endeavour to get intelligence, whether they put this design in execution.

Letter from the king, September 11, 1687. The king

wrote me word, that it was proper the king of England should be made more and more sensible every day, how suspicious he ought to be of the designs of the Prince of Orange; and that I would do well to inform M. Barillon of every step that I heard the Prince of Orange took to animate his factions and cabals in England. I acquainted his Majesty that I was informed, that the English were continually landing at the Brille and Rotterdam, the chief of whom set out forthwith to the Prince of Orange at Loo, some one way, some another; but most of them chose to go the byeways, as if they chose to be concealed. The most sensible people of the country began to make serious reflections upon it, rather because they had been informed that these newcomers told the Prince of Orange that he had no time to lose; and that, if the king of England should surmount the opposition which he met, within the last parliament on the head of religion, his (the Prince of Orange's) party would be quite ruined. I informed the court, that the States General, in order to favour the manufacture of hats established in Holland by the French refugees, had laid a duty of ten sous per livre de gros on hats imported, whereas before they paid but six; and that they had taken off the four sous per livre de gros, which they paid for hats exported; and that now they are to be exported duty-free: so that it will not be an easy thing to bring in hats from France, and all that are made in Holland will be exported without any expense. . . .

I was informed of the efforts made at this time by the Prince of Orange and the Pensionary Fagel, to induce the Emperor to make peace with the Turk, and that they offered themselves to be mediators.

104. THE 'GLORIOUS REVOLUTION', 1689

SOURCE—Evelyn, 15 January, 1689.

I VISITED the Abp. of Canterbury, where I found the Bps. of St. Asaph [Lloyd], Ely [Turner], Bath and Wells [Ken], Peterborough [White], and Chichester [Lake], the Earls of

Aylesbury and Clarendon, Sir Geo. Mackenzie Lord Advocate of Scotland, and then came in a Scotch Abp. etc. . . . divers sèrious matters were discours'd, concerning the present state of the public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene; some would have the Princess made Queen without any more dispute, others were for a Regency; there was a Tory party [as then so call'd] who were for inviting his Majesty again upon conditions; and there were Republicarians who would make the Pr. of Orange like a Statholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties to bring them into confusion. . . . I found nothing of all this in this Assembly of Bishops . . .; they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the Laws in being . . .

The great Convention being assembled the day before . . . resolved that K. James having by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons endeavour'd to subvert the Laws of Church and State, and deserted the Kingdom, . . . had by demise abdicated himself and wholly vacated his right; they did therefore desire the Lords' concurrence to their vote, to place the crown on the next heir, the Pr. of Orange, for his life, then to the Princess his wife, and if she died without issue, to the Princess of Denmark, and she failing, to the heirs of the Prince, excluding for ever all possibility of admitting a Roman Catholic.

105. THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG, 1688–97

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes shocked and alarmed Protestant Europe, and rendered it easier for William of Orange to organize a League to resist further encroachments by Louis XIV. Such a League, however, could cope with France only if the Emperor were free from the Turkish menace and if England gave support. Louis struck at the opposition while the Turks were still unbroken and while James II ruled. His pretext was the claim of his daughter-in-law to the

Palatinate. The Glorious Revolution, the Turkish defeats and the exhaustion of France 'perishing to the sound of the Te Deum' helped on peace.

SOURCES—(i) Ranke, *F.G.*, VI, p. 64. (ii) Anonymous pamphlet published at Cologne, *c.* 1690.

(i) THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA OF HANOVER, 1688

ST. CLOUD, 26 September, 1688. Our Dauphin set out for the army yesterday, to besiege and take Philippsburg. He told me that he would take Mannheim and Frankenthal next, and wage war for my interests. But I said, 'If you take my advice you won't go, for I own that it can give me nothing but pain to have my poor fatherland ruined in my name.'

(ii) LOUIS XIV AS JUDGED BY HIS ENEMIES, 1690

Louis XIV was not content with the crown of France, nor to make himself Emperor, but to be *the universal monarch of the world*, and then, not having any more to conquer here below, like the giants of old he would have built a tower to scale heaven, and dragoon the inhabitants of the eternal mansions.

106. THE BATTLE OF ZENTA (1697) AND PRINCE EUGENE

Eugene's victory at Zenta signified that the danger to the Empire was in a fair way to be dispelled. For western Europe this would mean that, when the sickly King of Spain died, the English and Dutch might not be left alone to restrain France under Louis XIV from disposing as she pleased of the Spanish empire. (i) The news is thus announced by the Emperor's representative to the Diet of Regensburg on September 17, 1697. (ii) The character of the victor, who did much to turn the European scale against France, is illustrated by a letter written later in his career and directed against a great Habsburg failing.

SOURCES—(i) Schilling, p. 210. (ii) Von Arneth, iii, p. 85.

(i) THE ANNOUNCEMENT

ON the second of this month the Imperial cavalry arrived in good order before Zenta. They found part of the

Turkish army posted on this side of the Theiss,[1]—about 24,000 Janissaries and 4,000 to 8,000 horse, in a triple entrenchment. . . . These were seeking to cross the broken bridge and avoid a battle, when Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose infantry had just arrived, fell on their first entrenchment and took it in an hour. They defended themselves for some time in the second, but soon began to retreat again. The bridge, however, was so narrow that it soon became impassable, and our men took the second and third entrenchments. From 10,000 to 12,000 men at least were cut down and the rest driven into the Theiss, where most were drowned. So the day ended. Next day the whole camp beyond the Theiss was found abandoned. In that conquered by us were 72 guns, with a great mass of provisions and munitions of every kind, as also several thousand wagons for their triple wagon-fortress. The Grand Vizier and Chief of the Janissaries, with many other of the higher officers, remained on the field. We lost about 500 killed and of wounded not many more.

(ii) Eugene to Joseph I

It would indeed be an impertinence on my part if I were to dare to dictate orders and arrangements to Your Majesty, as to whether you should show your imperial favour more or less to this man or to that. My duty is merely to conceal nothing from you, which might be beneficial or harmful to your service. I therefore beg most humbly that your majesty will consent in future to consider the opinion of the war council not unworthy of your most gracious consideration in questions of promotion and other military appointments, and to allow that the 'influence-recommendations', as such are usually called, come particularly from the side of people who do not belong to the same sphere, and who cannot estimate the quality and capacity of the men they recommend. . . .

I have no other intention in writing this than to show my most dutiful zeal for your Majesty's service.

[1] Or Tisza.

107. THE PEACE OF RYSWICK, 1697

This, though a mere truce made in anticipation of the death of Charles II of Spain, was necessarily an elaborate instrument, including several treaties.

SOURCES—Koch and Schoell, I, p. 389, etc. Reich, pp. 24–43.

France and Spain, 20th September, 1697

4. FRANCE restores all her conquests in Spain, including Gironne, Roses, Belver and Barcelona.

5–9. France restores her conquests in the Spanish Netherlands: The town and duchy of Luxemburg, the county of Chiny, Charleroi, Mons, Ath with the exception of certain dependencies, Courtrai. Spain to restore all her conquests.

10. All the districts, towns etc. . . . which his Most Christian Majesty has occupied and 'reunited,' since the Treaty of Nymegen, in the Provinces of Luxemburg, Namur . . . and the other provinces of the Low Countries, according to the list of these reunions produced by His Catholic Majesty . . ., of which a copy shall be annexed to this treaty, shall remain absolutely and for ever the property of His Catholic Majesty, with the exception of 82 Towns etc. . . . contained in the list of exceptions furnished by his Most Christian Majesty . . . claimed as being dependencies of Charlemont, Maubeuge and other towns ceded to his Most Christian Majesty by the Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle and of Nymegen.

23. Each king to take over the public debt of his part of the provinces acquired.

France and Great Britain, 20th September, 1697

1. William III recognized as King of Great Britain.[1]

4. Louis XIV promises, for himself and his successors, not to trouble or disturb in any way the King of Great Britain in the possession of his sovereignty, not to aid, either

[1] Great Britain was frequently spoken of, as here, prior to the Act of Union.

directly or indirectly, any of his enemies, and not to help or encourage intrigues or rebellions against him.

5. Mutual restoration of conquests.

8. A commission to be nominated to examine the conflicting claims of the two kings to parts of the Hudson Bay Territory.

France and the United Provinces

VIII. Restoration of conquests by both sides. Pondicherry restored to the French East India Company.

In a treaty of commerce signed on the same day:

15. The Dutch exempted in France from the '*droit d'aubaine*'.[1]

27. Except in the case of contraband, a neutral ship protects enemy goods.

42. Nine months' grace from the declaration of war, in which subjects engaged in commerce may return from abroad.

France, The Emperor and the Empire, 30th October, 1697

3. The Peace of Westphalia, and that of Nymegen, are the basis of this peace, and, in consequence, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, they shall be enforced in their entirety both in temporal and in spiritual matters, and shall henceforward be inviolably observed, save where it shall be expressly decided otherwise.

4. In the first place there shall be restored to the Holy Roman Emperor and to the Empire, and to the states and members thereof, by his Most Christian Majesty, all the places and titles taken, whether during the war and by assault, or under the name of Union or Reunion, which are situated outside Alsace, or are contained in the list of Reunions presented by the French Embassy, so that the decrees, decisions etc. which have been given by the Chambers of Metz, and Besançon, and by the council of Breisach are annulled, and everything will return to its position prior to these occupations, unions, etc. to be no further troubled or disturbed; nevertheless the Roman

[1] See number 111 below.

Catholic Religion shall remain, in the places thus restored, in the position now held by it.

6–7. The restoration of the Elector of Trier, of the Bishop of Speier, and of the Elector of Brandenburg.

8. The pretensions of the Duchess of Orleans, which had formed one of the pretexts for the war, were submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor and of the King of France and, failing an agreement on their part, to the Pope.

9–15. More Restitutions.

16–17. Strasburg formally ceded to France.

18–27. Cessions to the Emperor: Freiburg, Breisach; Philippsburg. The navigation and other utilization of the Rhine shall be free to the subjects of the two contracting powers, and to all others who wish to navigate, to cross or to transport merchandise. . . .

28–34. The Duke of Lorraine is restored to his duchy, with the exception of certain districts, including Saarlouis, retained by France. French troops granted free passage at all times.

44. The Cardinal von Fürstenberg, bishop of Strasburg, is restored with all his rights.

108. THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ, 1699

'At the peace of Westphalia the German Empire was ruined, but, fifty years afterwards, in the admirable framework of the Danube valley, the peace of Carlowitz founded and completed the Austrian state.' (*Bourgeois.*)

The Turks, who in 1683 *had almost captured Vienna, and whose energy had been revived in* 1690 *by the younger Kiuprili, were exhausted by a war of fifteen campaigns culminating in Eugene's triumph at Zenta. Deprived by the Ryswick peace of the distraction to their enemies which the western struggle* (1688–97) *had provided, they could not avoid a fourfold agreement with the Christian powers, the Emperor, Poland, Venice and Russia. This in the main left the four powers in possession of their conquests, either indefinitely or for a long term of years. The ceremonial difficulties of negotiation, always great, but greatest when numerous eastern and western envoys had to meet, were minimized by constructing at Carlowitz, midway between the two camps, a rotunda with a door opposite to the tent of each ambassador. Entering*

at the same moment, each found his own chair or sofa placed between his own door and a round table, the usual disputes about precedence being thus made impossible. Collectively, the four treaties mark a complete revolution in the eastern question, for the Turk is obviously no longer powerful enough to menace Europe.

SOURCE—Koch and Schoell, XIV, pp. 272–283.

(*a*) With the Emperor, 26 January 1699, for twenty-five years.

(i) The Turks cede Transylvania.

(ii) They retain Temesvar, and the right to joint use of the rivers Maros and Theiss on its frontier.

(v) Between [Turkish] Bosnia and [Imperial] Croatia and Slavonia, the Save and the Unna form the boundary.

(ix) Neither will protect the unruly subjects of the other.

(x) But fugitive Hungarians and Transylvanians may remain in Turkey.[1]

(xi) Duels between subjects of the two empires are forbidden as of old.

(*b*) With Poland, 26 January 1699, indefinitely.

(i) The ancient friendship and boundaries are restored.

(ii) The Poles evacuate Moldavia.

(iii) The Turks restore Kamienets with Podolia and the Ukraine as far as the Dnieper.

(vii) Worship may be held in all Roman Catholic churches in Turkey.

(*c*) With Venice, February 1699, for ever.

(i) The Turks cede the Morea.

(vi) They retain the Archipelago.

(viii) Four Dalmatian fortresses remain in Venetian hands.

(*d*) With Russia, at Constantinople in July 1700, for thirty years.

(i) Four towns on the Dnieper conquered by the Russians to be demolished and to remain uninhabited, but under Turkish sovereignty.

(iii) Azov and district to remain Russian.

[1] One thousand four hundred families did so. They were provided with land and enjoyed religious toleration.

109. THE GRAND ALLIANCE OF THE HAGUE, 7 SEPTEMBER, 1701

The preamble and three of the fourteen articles of that Grand Alliance which formed the climax of King William's efforts may well be compared with the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, which closed the war. The English and Dutch, it should be remarked, did not declare that the claims of the Emperor to the Spanish inheritance were well founded, and they expressly stipulated (art. 6) that they might make conquests in the Spanish Indies for themselves. In May, 1703, they added to the treaty a resolution to make no peace with France until reparation was made for the recognition by Louis XIV of the Pretender.

SOURCE—Trevelyan, pp. 5–10.

WHEREAS the King of Spain, Charles II of glorious memory, having died without children, his Sacred Imperial Majesty has affirmed that the succession of the Kingdoms and Provinces of the deceased king belong lawfully to his august House, and whereas the Most Christian King, desirous of having the same succession for the Duke of Anjou his grandson, and alleging that it comes to him by right in virtue of a certain will of the deceased King, has at once taken possession of the whole heritage or Spanish Monarchy for the said Duke of Anjou, and has seized by main force the provinces of the Spanish Netherlands and the Duchy of Milan, and has a fleet at Cadiz all ready to sail, and has sent several Warships to the Indies which are subject to Spain, and whereas by this means and several others the kingdoms of France and Spain are so closely united that they must in the future be looked upon as one single kingdom, so much so that if care be not taken it appears that his Imperial Majesty must renounce the hope of satisfaction of his claim; and whereas the Roman Empire will lose all its rights on its fiefs in Italy and in the Spanish Netherlands just as the English and Dutch will lose their freedom of navigation and commerce in the Mediterranean, in the Indies and elsewhere; and whereas the United Provinces will be deprived of the security which they had by the interposition between them and France of the Spanish Netherlands, commonly called the Barrier;

and in short the French and Spanish being thus united will shortly become so formidable that they could easily make all Europe submit to them and to their Empire, now as this conduct of the Most Christian King has put his Imperial Majesty under the necessity of sending an army to Italy for the safeguarding both of his private rights and of the fiefs of the Empire, so likewise the King of Great Britain has judged it necessary to send his auxiliary troops to the United Provinces, whose affairs are in the same state as if war had already been declared, and the States General, whose frontiers are nearly everywhere open owing to the breaking of the Barrier which prevented the neighbourhood of the French, are obliged to do for the safety and preservation of their Republic, all that they ought to have done, and could have done, if they had been in effect threatened with open war. And as a state, so doubtful and uncertain in everything, is more dangerous than war itself, and as France and Spain take advantage of it to become more and more united to oppress the liberty of Europe and to ruin customary trade, all these reasons have brought His Sacred Imperial Majesty, His Sacred Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces to forestall the evils which would accrue from it. And being anxious to remedy it to the utmost of their ability they have judged it necessary to make between themselves a close alliance and confederation to avert the great and common danger.

5. And in order to obtain this satisfaction and this security the Allies will make, among other things, the greatest efforts to retake and conquer the Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, so that they may serve as a like rampart and barrier to separate and keep France at a distance from the United Provinces, as in the past the said Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands secured the States General, until a short while ago His Most Christian Majesty took possession of them, and occupied them with his troops. Similarly the Allies will make every effort to conquer the Duchy of Milan with all its dependencies, as being a Fief

of the Empire serving to secure the hereditary Provinces of his Imperial Majesty, and to conquer the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the islands of the Mediterranean with Spain's dependent territory along the Tuscan coast, which can serve the same object and be useful for the navigation and commerce of the subjects of His Britannic Majesty and of the United Provinces.

6. If the King of Great Britain and the States General can conquer by force of arms, as they shall have agreed amongst themselves, for the use and convenience of the navigation and commerce of their subjects, the countries and towns which the Spaniards have in the Indies, all that they can seize there will be for them and will remain theirs.

8. War once begun, none of the Allies may make overtures of peace to the enemy except with the participation and advice of the other parties. And such a peace cannot be concluded without having obtained for his Imperial Majesty just and reasonable satisfaction, and for the King of Great Britain and the States General the individual safety of their Kingdoms, provinces, lands, dependencies, navigation and commerce. Nor without the necessary steps having first been taken to prevent the Kingdoms of France and Spain from being ever united under one Empire or from having one and the same king as their sovereign; and especially that the French shall never have mastery over the Spanish Indies, nor send vessels to carry on trade there, directly or indirectly, under any pretext whatsoever. Lastly the said peace shall not be concluded without having obtained for the subjects of His Britannic Majesty and of the United Provinces a full and entire title, usage and enjoyment of all the same privileges, rights, immunities and liberties of commerce by land as well as by sea, in Spain and on the Mediterranean, which they had and enjoyed during the life of the late King of Spain in all the countries which he possessed in Europe as well as elsewhere, and which they could by right use and enjoy in common or in private, by treaties, conventions and customs or in any other manner that might be.

110. FRANCE AND THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, AUGUST 1704

(i) The Battle according to the Duchess of Orleans

Writing from Versailles on 31 August to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, the Duchess of Orleans shows her usual impartiality and sense in estimating the position of affairs.

Source—Ranke, *F.G.*, VI, p. 212.

. . . The event is well worth the *Te Deum* sung for it in Germany, but here it is thought that a speedy peace is improbable. Our king has still a large army in Germany and the Elector of Bavaria is stout of heart and never spares himself in war, but is always the foremost in everything. . . . If it should be secretly fated that King Augustus shall again ascend his throne [in Poland] the Swedish king's military tactics will be of small avail. . . . It is frankly admitted here that the battle was lost and Tallard beaten because the cavalry did not do its duty. . . .

(ii) The Battle according to the Baron de Montigny[1]

Source—Trevelyan, p. 133.

As my wounds give me a little respite, I will try to inform you of what I saw in that affair, which I believed would be the climax of our good fortune, but which was just the opposite, thanks to Marshal Tallard's longing for a fight. . . .

It is certain that his men-at-arms and horse caused the loss of this great battle ; that we had too many battalions on our right, and too few in the centre. Besides, nothing could have been better than the march of the enemy, who had more men than we. . . . If we were at fault, it was in having risked this battle at a time when the arms of France were glorious on all sides ; it would have been much better to have kept together all the re-united forces of the

[1] A French Officer.

empire, to have entrenched ourselves and risked nothing. The enemy would have become exhausted and ruined, and would have been obliged to go back.

(iii) The Battle according to Marshal Tallard

Writing from captivity at Hanau on September 4, the defeated commander sent an apology to the French minister, Chamillart, of which about one-seventh follows.

Source—Trevelyan, p. 122.

You must consider, Sir, if you please, that I had only thirty-six battalions and forty-four squadrons, having been obliged to double my squadrons because of the mortality among the horses. I was attacked by forty-eight battalions and eighty-nine squadrons either English or in the pay of Holland and England, the smallest squadrons with a hundred and sixty troopers, the smallest battalions over five hundred men. Marshal de Marcin was attacked by eighteen battalions and ninety-two squadrons. He had eighty-three squadrons and forty-two battalions, because the troops of the Elector were on his left. I sent again during the battle to ask him for help, but he thought himself not strong enough to give it. Finally I sent the quartermaster of horse to tell him that I begged him to send me news of himself, and that I could hold the enemy no longer, especially since their right had reinforced those against me with a column of cavalry. M. du Plessis was unable to come back to me, and I have not seen him since. . . .

Allow me, sir, I beg, to say no more on a subject which still pierces me to the heart. The greatest evil is avoided when the enemies have not pursued. Without the miracle of last year at Höchstett, the Elector of Bavaria would have been lost in that campaign, without the miracle of Spires he would have been lost in the winter. This campaign a double miracle was necessary to save him, and it is lucky that the army of the Marshal de Marcin and his own should have arrived safely. I am the victim, but provided that the King's affairs do not suffer, I am content with my fate. You know, sir, that beyond the attachment that I had for

the king and a certain point of honour, I coveted little for myself, and but for these two reasons I should have wished to be left in peace and beyond the reach of the cabals which persecuted me and which always tried to poison what I did better. I confess that I would gladly have left the service by another door than this ; but I have nothing with which to reproach myself. I saw what was coming, I tried to prevent it, I placed my forces correctly, I held firm till the last, and I could almost wish that my life had then been closed.

111. THE UTRECHT SETTLEMENT, 1713–15

Owing to the defection of Britain, the last stages of the war of the Spanish Succession were marked by French victories, both in the field and in negotiation. As a result of what passed in 1712 all the powers engaged, except the Germans, made treaties of peace at Utrecht in 1713. These treaties, supplemented by those which the Germans made next year, form a new code for Europe, replacing the Peace of Westphalia in a wider world. Though denounced by the Whigs as infamous, and described with truth as full of challenges to future war, the Peace of Utrecht governed European relations in many respects for many years.

Source—Koch and Schoell, II, p. 104, etc.

(i) Treaties Made at Utrecht, 1713–15

France and Great Britain, 11th April, 1713

4. France recognizes the order of succession established in England by the acts of Parliament in favour of Anne, and of the Protestant line of Hanover. Louis XIV, for himself and his descendants, promises to recognize no one as King or Queen unless their accession is in conformity with this order, and, also, to prevent, by all means within his power, the return to France of the son of James II.

5. France will give no help of any kind, for any reason, to any movement against one occupying the throne in accordance with the Parliamentary Settlement.

6. Sets forth the acts concerning the renunciation by Philip V of the throne of France, and by the Dukes of Berry and Orleans of that of Spain. These are to constitute

an inviolable law, and, in consequence, the Crowns of France and of Spain can never be united.

France will not accept in Spain, or the Spanish Indies, any advantage, for commerce or navigation, in which the other nations do not participate.

9. The fortifications and port of Dunkirk to be demolished within five months and never re-built.

10–13. France restores to England the Hudson Bay Territory and cedes to her Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, retaining Cape Breton Island and the rights of fishing off Newfoundland and of drying fish on its shores.

British and French commissioners are to determine the boundaries between the colonies of the two nations in America.

19. In any future war between France and Great Britain their subjects shall have one week from the rupture within which to sell or remove goods lying in the ports or jurisdiction of the enemy.

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between England and France, 11th April, 1713

8. Most-favoured-nation treatment to be given by each to the subjects of the other.

12. The *droit d'aubaine* [whereby the crown seized the property within its territory of foreigners who died there] is mutually renounced.

17–18. The ordinance of 1681 by which Louis XIV declared good prize all ships loaded with goods belonging to an enemy is annulled as regards Great Britain.

France and Prussia, 11th April, 1713

7. France, being empowered thereto by Spain, cedes Upper-Guelders to Prussia, with a provision that the Catholic religion be maintained.

9. France recognizes the King of Prussia as sovereign lord of Neuchâtel and Valengin and continues the privileges which the inhabitants, as Swiss, enjoy in France.

10. The King of Prussia transfers to France his claim to

the Principality of Orange and its dependencies. By a separate article Louis XIV promised, for himself and for the King of Spain, to recognize the royal dignity of Prussia, to give to Frederick the rank of Majesty, and to give to his ministers the honours given to those of the other crowned heads.

France and Savoy, 11th April, 1713

3. France restores her conquests to the Duke, including Savoy and Nice.

4. Savoy cedes to France the valley of Barcelonette.

5. Louis XIV recognizes the duke of Savoy as the legitimate King of Sicily, and guarantees him the possession of this kingdom.

6. Louis XIV recognizes the duke of Savoy and his male descendants as the legitimate heirs of the Spanish Monarchy, in default of descendants of Philip V.

7. The cessions of the Emperor Leopold to Savoy made at Turin in 1703 are confirmed. [These improved the Italian frontier of the Duchy, notably by the inclusion within it of Alessandria and Valenza and all the lands between the Po and the Tanaro.]

France and the United Provinces, 11th April, 1713

7, France surrenders all that she still holds in the Spanish Netherlands. The United Provinces will hand them over to Austria when arrangements have been made about the Barrier.

9. The act of Philip V ceding the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria and his heirs is revoked. Louis XIV engages to make the Elector cede to the United Provinces, in favour of Austria, all his claims arising therefrom. The Elector is to retain the town and duchy of Luxemburg, Namur and its county, and Charleroi and its dependencies, until he is re-established in all his pre-war possessions within the Empire, saving the Upper Palatinate, and until he is admitted to the rank of ninth elector and put in possession of the Kingdom of Sardinia and of the title of King.

11–12. France cedes to the United Provinces in favour of Austria a part of the French Netherlands, including Menin, Tournai and the Tournois, Furnes, Knocke, Loo, Dixmude and Ypres, etc.

14. No part of the French or Spanish Netherlands ceded by Louis XIV can ever pass into the hands of the French Crown, or of any member of the French royal house, whatever claim they may have.

15. The town and citadel of Lille are restored to France, with Aire, Béthune, etc.

31. The renunciations made by Philip V and by the French Princes are declared fundamental and inviolable.

32. Louis XIV promises to accept no advantage either for himself or his subjects, in commerce or navigation, either in Spain or the Spanish Indies, other than those enjoyed under Charles II [1665–1700], or in which all other nations participate.

36. Nine months' grace granted to the subjects of both states within which, in case of rupture between them, they may withdraw with their possessions.

In a treaty of commerce for twenty-five years signed the same day, both powers recognize the freedom of the neutral flag in time of war, in the terms used in the Treaty between England and France.

France and Portugal, 13th April, 1713

8. France relinquishes in favour of Portugal all her rights and pretensions to the lands called those of the North Cape in Guiana.

10–11. France recognizes that both banks of the Amazon belong to Portugal, and renounces the navigation and use of the river.

Great Britain and Spain, 13th July, 1713

2. Philip V confirms and renews, for himself and his heirs and successors, his renunciation of all right, title and claim to the throne of France.

5. The King of Spain recognizes the order of succession in Great Britain as laid down by the acts of Parliament.

8. The navigation and commerce between the two nations is to remain as before the war and during the reign of Charles II [1665–1700]. The King of Spain and his heirs and successors are forbidden to sell or pledge to France, or any other nation, any land or lordship in America.

10. Spain cedes Gibraltar to England on condition that no Jew or Moor be allowed to reside there, and that the inhabitants be allowed the free exercise of the Catholic Religion. The English garrison there may buy victuals for cash but otherwise the place is cut off from Spain. Spain is to have preference if Britain should ever wish to dispose of it.

11. Minorca is likewise ceded to England on condition that no Moors be allowed there and that no asylum be offered to Moorish vessels of war either in Minorca or Gibraltar.

12. The Asiento is granted for thirty years to Great Britain and to the English Company for trading in negroes, on the same conditions as the French Guinea Company received it in 1701. [4,800 negroes to be furnished annually during peace and 3,000 during war at a fixed duty per head with the right to receive payment in goods.]

13. A complete amnesty granted to the Catalans, together with all the privileges enjoyed by the Castilians.

14. Sicily is abandoned to the Duke of Savoy, but is to return to Spain if heirs male fail him.

18. In case of rupture between the two states, six months' grace is allowed to their respective subjects within which to remove their possessions.

Spain and Savoy, 13th August, 1713

3. In default of descendants of Philip V the succession to the throne of Spain is assured to the Duke of Savoy and his male descendants.

4. Spain cedes the Kingdom of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy.

6. Sicily to revert to Spain in default of heirs male to the House of Savoy.

Spain and the United Provinces, 26th June, 1714

10. The peace of Münster is renewed save for those articles altered in the present treaty.

31. Spain allows no foreign nation to send ships or to trade in the Spanish Indies.

36. In case of rupture the subjects of the two countries are allowed a year and a day in which to place their goods in safety.

37. The law forbidding the union of the crowns of France and Spain, and the renunciations relative to it, are confirmed in the fullest and strongest terms.

Spain and Portugal, 6th February, 1715

5. Restoration of conquests by both sides.

6–7. Spain ceded San Sacramento to Portugal, unless within eighteen months an equivalent should be offered.

13. The Peace of Lisbon of 1688 is renewed. [This dealt chiefly with the boundary question, a constant source of irritation between the two countries.]

21. In case of rupture the subjects of the two countries shall have six months in which to place their goods in safety.

(ii) The Treaty of Baden, 7th September, 1714

Made between France and the Empire. With Spain the Emperor made no peace, but continued to regard himself as the rightful king.

Source—Koch and Schoell, II, p. 140.

1. The peace of Rastadt [1] is confirmed in full.

3. The treaties of Westphalia, Nymegen and Ryswick are taken as the basis of the present treaty and, within the Empire, everything is to be put on the footing prescribed in the last-named of these.

[1] The peace made with France, earlier in the year, by the Emperor in his own name.

4–5. Old Breisach and Freiburg with their dependencies on the right bank of the Rhine are to be handed over to the Emperor and to the House of Austria.

6. A repetition of article 18 of the Peace of Ryswick.

12. The terms of the Peace of Ryswick are renewed, in so far as they are not expressly altered.

13. France recognizes the Electoral dignity of the House of Hanover.

14. Landau is left in the hands of France.

15. The Electors of Cologne and Bavaria are reinstated in their lands and dignities.

19–21. France consents to the Emperor taking possession of the Spanish Netherlands and of that part of the French Netherlands ceded at Utrecht, for himself and his heirs according to the law of succession in the House of Austria.

30. France promises to leave the Emperor in peaceful possession of Naples, Milan, Sardinia and the Tuscan ports. In return the Emperor agrees to leave the Italian princes undisturbed in the lands they actually hold.

112. THE *COUP D'ÉTAT* OF ELIZABETH FARNESE, DECEMBER, 1714

To dispose of Spain while Philip V was on the throne it was necessary to control his queen. The Savoyard princess whom he first married having died (February 1714), Mme. des Ursins hoped to make her own influence and that of France permanent by inducing him to espouse an insignificant princess of Parma, although, as St. Simon says, she was doubly illegitimate, her father descended from a pope, her mother from a bastard of Charles V. Philip none the less married her by proxy in September, and shortly before Christmas her journey to Madrid approached its close. How Mme. des Ursins was then undeceived appears from the following narrative, which doubtless embodies what she herself told St. Simon in Paris. The Queen usually shaped Spanish policy, until her husband's death in 1746, and thus played a great part in Europe.

SOURCE—Boislisle, XXVI, pp. 104–108. St. John, II, p. 273.

[THE King of Spain wished to go as far as Guadalajara,] which is on the way from Madrid to Burgos, rather further from Madrid than Fontainebleau from Paris . . . and to

celebrate his marriage in the palace chapel, although he had been married by proxy at Parma. The journey was so timed that the King should arrive only two days before the Queen. He was accompanied by those whom the Princess des Ursins had chosen as his constant companions, so that no one else should have access to him. She followed in her carriage so as to arrive at the same time, and the king at once shut himself up alone with her and saw no one else before he went to bed. He arrived at Guadalajara on the 22nd December. On the 23rd the princess left with a few attendants for Jadraque, a tiny village seven leagues away, where the queen was to sleep that evening. Madame des Ursins thought to enjoy all her gratitude for the greatness beyond hope that she had obtained for her. She counted on spending the evening with her and on accompanying her next day in her carriage to Guadalajara. She found that the queen had arrived at Jadraque. She went to a lodging hard by. She had come in full court dress . . . and went straight to the queen. The coldness of her reception surprised her exceedingly. At first she put it down to the queen's embarrassment and tried to break the ice. All others withdrew so as to leave them alone. Then the conversation began. The queen would not let her continue speaking and at once began to reproach her with the want of respect shown towards her by her clothes and her behaviour. Mme. des Ursins, whose dress was correct, and who . . . thought herself far from deserving this tirade, in her astonishment attempted some defence. But the queen at once, with offensive words, began to exclaim, to call out, to ask for the officers of the guard, and with insult to order Mme. des Ursins to quit her presence. She tried to defend herself against these reproaches, but the queen, redoubling her fury and threats, shrieked out that this madwoman must be driven from her presence and from the house, and she had her taken by the shoulders and put out. The queen at once called the commander of the detachment which accompanied her and the equerry in charge of her carriages. She ordered the first to arrest

Mme. des Ursins and not to leave her for an instant until he had put her with two trustworthy officers of the guard into a carriage and about fifteen guardsmen to surround it. The second she ordered to have a carriage with six horses and two or three footmen brought at once, and to see that the Princess des Ursins left at once for Burgos and Bayonne and did not stop anywhere. [The commander] tried to show the queen that only the King of Spain had the power to do such things. She asked him haughtily if he had not an order from the king to obey her in everything, without reserve and without remonstrance. It was true that he had such an order and that no one knew anything about it. Mme. des Ursins was therefore immediately arrested and put into the carriage with one of her maids. Neither of them had had time to change their dress, to make any provision against the cold, or to take any money or food. . . . She tried to send to the queen, but the queen only raged anew against such disobedience and made her set off at once . . . about seven o'clock on the evening before Christmas Eve. . . .

The long winter night passed thus, with no protection against cold so terrible that the coachman lost a hand. When morning came, the necessity of feeding the horses forced them to stop; but for mankind there is absolutely nothing in the hotels of Spain, where they only point out where the needful things can be bought. The meat is generally alive, the wine thick, flat and strong, the bread mere dough, the water often undrinkable, the beds are only for the muleteers—in short one has to take everything with one, and Madame des Ursins and those who were with her had nothing. Eggs, when any were to be found, fresh or not, were their only standby throughout the whole journey.

X

CHANGES IN NORTHERN EUROPE

(*a*) THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

113. THE BRANDENBURGERS PETITION FOR ARMY REDUCTION, 1650

The Prussian army played so great a part in creating the Prussian state that its history must claim a high place in the history of Europe. The Prussian people have on several occasions protested in vain against the burden of armaments. Towards the close of 1650, *ten years before the Great Elector gained full sovereignty over his distant duchy in Prussia, the Estates at Berlin submitted the petition cited below. The Elector replied that no one could regret the necessity for continuing armaments so much as he, but that Pomerania and his other lands were now members of one head, and that he must wait and see how the Swedes observed the treaty of Westphalia regarding Further Pomerania.*

SOURCE—*Urk. und Akt.*, X, p. 188. Schilling, p. 189.

[THE Estates express their astonishment that the useless cavalry have not been cashiered, nor their own burdens lightened as the Elector, three months earlier, had led them to expect. They cannot connive at the oppression of the poor, ' whose tears verily flow down their cheeks ', without turning to the father of the country.]

Your Electoral Highness knows the need of your own poor vassals, and if you had any doubts, you could learn it to the full from your officials. The case of the vassals of the nobles and others is no better, but all are so decayed that conscience cries out if more burdens are laid upon them or the old ones unabated. We regret the strange necessity of giving our substance for what can plainly profit neither Your Electoral Highness nor ourselves nor the whole country.

but rather does harm, and causes many intending immigrants to betake themselves elsewhere, because here there is no limit to the payment of taxes.

[The Swedes are not bound by the treaty to quit Further Pomerania until the financial settlement is made, but they are bound not to attempt anything against Your Electoral Highness by force. Trust, then, to a friendly arrangement and to your fellow-Germans.]

114. THE GREAT ELECTOR ON TOLERATION, 1652

The conversion of the head of the Hohenzollerns from the Lutheran to the Calvinist confession in 1614 *roused suspicions among his Lutheran subjects which died but slowly. In* 1640 *the new Calvinist Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, surnamed the Great Elector, had to seek the good offices of the Catholic King of Poland in order to secure a peaceable funeral for his father in Lutheran Kōnigsberg, then the capital of his Polish fief of East Prussia. A Calvinist family ruling both Lutheran and Catholic provinces must be strongly impelled towards toleration, and the Great Elector, who here proclaims his principles, profited greatly by them when many Calvinist Huguenots fled to him from the persecuting Louis XIV.*

SOURCE—*Urk. und Akt.*, X p. 255. Schilling, p. 191.

As for the exercise of the Augsburg Confession, it is clear and undeniable that the Estates enjoy it unhindered, and we never supposed that the least among them thought otherwise, nor have they ground for the slightest complaint of infringement, least of all of exclusion from public or ecclesiastical office or from the universities and schools. . . . The most numerous and considerable appointments in the principal Colleges are rather in the hands of Lutherans than of Calvinists. We believe that no Lutheran Elector or prince in the whole Roman Empire can be found who would act towards the Calvinists with our impartiality. . . . If peace-loving theologians could be found (a great rarity to-day) who could restrain their untimely and needlessly bitter zeal so as to refrain from unchristian reviling, slander and condemnation in school and pulpit, we should not hesitate to give them places in the theological faculty

also. But the Lutheran Estates cannot seriously suppose that we should commit the young men who will serve in church and state to teachers who revile, slander and condemn our religion and thereby make us hated by our subjects. Thereby we should burden our conscience.

115. THE BATTLE OF FEHRBELLIN, JUNE, 1675

'The Bannockburn of Prussian history' was epoch-making rather as a demonstration of the Great Elector's strength and of Sweden's weakness than as a great encounter. At the moment it merely hastened a retreat which had already begun, and that with a loss of about 600 men on either side. But it brought about an immediate coalition against Sweden. Her empire in Germany was overrun, and to defend the conquests which she had made from Denmark on her own side of the Sound cost her immense exertions and the loss of her constitutional freedom. The second account shows what history had made of the battle within seven years; the first, what the victor said of it at the time.

SOURCES—(i) Fehrbellin, Elector to Prince John George of Anhalt. (ii) Schilling, p. 195.

(i) THE VICTOR'S ACCOUNT

18 JUNE. . . . We beat them off the field, but, owing to the marsh, they withdrew with their infantry into Fehrbellin . . . part of my cavalry did not do their duty. . . .

19 June. . . . Your regiment came running towards me in such headlong fashion that I had enough to do to turn them . . . though no one was behind them.

20 June. By God's grace I have kept the battlefield, but it has cost me many officers and men.

(ii) THE CHRONICLER'S ACCOUNT

The joy that arose within and without Germany by reason of this victory, and the increase in the veneration for the Elector and in the love of his subjects, are indescribable. Many thousands wept for joy. . . . Military men admired his prudence . . . secrecy . . . wisdom . . . and the valour with which, unaided by any ally, and disposing only of cavalry exhausted by a long journey, he attacked a well-rested army in position, consisting as it did of many

veteran troops often the terror of Germany and commanded by one of the most famous generals in the world, and in a few days hunted them from the country. . . . [He] struck a medal with himself on horseback on the one side . . . on the other the inscription 'With his cavalry alone, trusting only in God's help, he overthrew and in seven days hunted from his dominions the entire army of Sweden, the northern robbers who for seven months had plundered Pomerania and the Mark, while he was helping other downtrodden people afar off. Fehrbellin, 18 June, 1675.'

116. PAPAL PROTEST AGAINST THE PRUSSIAN ROYAL TITLE, 1701

Under the seal of the Fisherman's Ring, 16 April, 1701, Clement XI sends to Louis XIV his protest against the royal title with which the Emperor hoped to purchase the support of the Elector of Brandenburg against France.

SOURCE—Schilling, p. 214.

ALTHOUGH we know that Your Majesty in no wise approves the conduct of Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, an evil example to all Christendom, in that he presumes publicly to assume the name of king, yet to avoid the semblance of neglecting our office we can by no means pass it over in silence. For this deed runs counter to the precepts of the apostles, and puts the high renown of this holy chair to no small shame, since without contemning the church an uncatholic man cannot take to himself the hallowed name of king, while the said Margrave does not shrink from calling himself king of that part of Prussia which from old time belonged to the Order of Teutonic Knights. Therefore we desire that Your Majesty (as we already recognize with satisfaction that your well-known magnanimity has prompted) from respect also to our admonition stand off from him and give him no royal honours such as he has all too imprudently assumed. Such people God's word itself chastises and rejects: 'They have ruled and not through Me, they have become princes and I have not known them.'

(*b*) THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND THE FALL OF SWEDEN

117. RUSSIA THROUGH ENGLISH EYES, 1553

'The expedition that set out to find China lighted by chance upon Russia', and Chancellor's description shows what most impressed a European discoverer of this non-European country. The hardihood, barbarism and fanaticism of the Russians were unmistakable, but their vast numbers proved an illusion.

SOURCE—Chancellor, Hakluyt's Voyages, pp. 241–253.

THE poor is very innumerable, and live most miserably: for I have seen them eat the pickle of Herring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eat it and praise it to be more wholesome then other fish or fresh meat. In mine opinion there be no such people under the sun for their hardness of living. Well, I will leave them in this point, and will in part declare their Religion. They do observe the law of the Greeks with such excess of superstition, as the like hath not been heard of. They have no graven images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not break the commandment: but to their painted images they use such idolatry, that the like was never heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their own country. For their own images [say they] have pictures to declare what they be, and how they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, Look how the Painter or Carver hath made them, so we do worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but half Christians: because we observe not part of the old law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselves more holy than us. They have none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will they suffer no other in their country among them. All their service in Churches is in their mother tongue. They have the old and new Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no less. For when the Priests do read, they have such tricks in their reading, that no man can understand them, nor no man giveth ear to them. For all the while the

Priest readeth, the people sit down and one talk with another. But when the Priest is at service no man sitteth, but gagle and duck like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they have but little skill, but use to say As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord have mercy upon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creed, no man may be so bold as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it should not be spoken of, but in the Churches. Speak to them of the Commandments, and they will say they were given to Moses in the law, which Christ hath now abrogated by his precious death and passion: therefore, [say they] we observe little or none thereof. And I do believe them. For if they were examined of their Law and Commandments together, they should agree but in few points. They have the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and more ceremonies then we have. They present them in a dish in both kinds together, and carry them round about the Church upon the Priest's head, and so do minister at all such times as any shall require. . . .

'THE NEWE NAVIGATION AND DISCOVERIE OF THE KINGDOME OF MOSCOVIA BY THE NORTHEAST, IN THE YERE 1553. . . .'

Of the Discipline of War among the Russes

Whensoever the injuries of their neighbours do call the King forth to battle, he never armeth a less number against the enemy, than 300 thousand soldiers, 100 thousand whereof he carrieth out into the field with him, and leaveth the rest in garrison in some fit places, for the better safety of his empire. He presseth no husbandman, nor Merchant: for the country is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realm is sufficient for all his wars. . . .

They are a kind of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremity of cold, above all others. For when the ground is covered with snow, and is grown terrible and hard with the frost, this Russe hangs up his mantle, or soldier's coat, against that part from whence the wind and

snow drives, and so making a little fire, lieth down with his back towards the weather: this mantle of his serves him for his bed, wall, house and all: his drink is cold water of the river, mingled with oatmeal, and this is all his good cheer, and he thinketh himself well, and daintily fed therewith, and so sitteth down by his fire, and upon the hard ground, roasteth as it were his weary sides thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, and some block of stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his master, faring both alike. . . .

Of Their Religion

There is one use and custom amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffin or chest, and in the hand of the corpse they put a little scroll, and in the same there are these words written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, having received the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiving it [as they affirm] reads it, and by and by admits him into heaven, and that his glory and place is higher and greater than the glory of the Christians of the Latin church, reputing themselves to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but half Christians, and themselves only to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

118. THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION TO THE REFORMS OF PETER THE GREAT, *c.* 1704

The inertia of Russia, and the horror with which his subjects regarded the innovations of the tyrant, are vividly illustrated by the following conversations.

SOURCE—Kluchevsky, p. 240.

In Olonetz, 1704

CANTOR. 'To-day are we bidden to number the years only from the Birth of Christ; and to wear the raiment of Hungary.'

PRIEST. 'Aye, and likewise I have received word that the Week of the Great Fast is to be lessened and milk to be drunk on every Wednesday and Friday.' . . .

CANTOR. 'So long as decrees of the sort come unto us, so long will the men of this district go to dwell in the forest, and burn themselves. I likewise am minded to go into the forest, and burn myself!'

PRIEST. 'Then take thou me with thee, now that for all of us life is drawing unto its close.'

In Ladoga, 1704

ABBOT. 'What sort of a Christianity can it be that demandeth such a following of the Faith? I myself cleave unto the ancient Books. Yet, look you, they are to be burnt. . . . A fine Tsar for Christian folk! But he is no Tsar at all—rather a man of the Latin Church who keepeth not the fasts, an impostor, the Antichrist, a son of an unclean woman! . . . He hath punished even some of your own Strieltzi[1] for being Christian men, and not infidels like unto himself and his soldiers—not a few of the which are unbelievers altogether, and keep not the fasts, and others are foreigners who do walk abroad in German apparel and periwigs, and shave their beards. . . .'

In Kursk, 1708

PRIEST. 'God alone knoweth what now is passing in this our realm of Russia. For behold how the territory of the Ukraine lieth all undone with taxes which no man can reckon, so that they fall even upon our brethren, and do mulct both their bath-houses and their huts and their bees in a manner never known unto our fathers and our grandfathers. Can it be that no Tsar is abiding in the State?'

SUB-LIEUTENANT. 'Antichrist is here already. He is reigning in this our realm as Tsar.'

[1] 'Marksmen', a military *corps d'élite*.

119. THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA, 1709

The ruin of the army of Charles XII by that of Peter the Great at Poltáva made that battle one of the great landmarks of European history, for thenceforward Russia moves rapidly towards the position of a first-class power, while Sweden falls from greatness. The following documents bring out the immediate cause of this revolution—the obstinacy of 'Iron-head', as the Turks surnamed the Swedish king. Chance also played a part, the unprecedented cold of the preceding winter and the accident to the reckless king making victory unattainable.

SOURCE—Schuyler, II, p. 145, reproducing Gyllenkrok's narration.

(i) CHARLES XII BEFORE POLTAVA

GYLLENKROK. Does your Majesty intend to besiege Poltáva?

CHARLES. Yes, and you must make the siege, and tell us on what day we will take the fortress. That is what Vauban used to do in France, and you are our little Vauban.

GYLLENKROK. God help us, with such a Vauban as I! But, however great a man he may have been, I think that he would have been embarrassed if he had not had all he thought necessary for a siege.

CHARLES. We have enough necessary military material to take such a wretched little fort as Poltáva.

GYLLENKROK. The fort is itself not strong, but the garrison of 4,000 men, besides Cossacks, makes it strong.

CHARLES. If they see that we attack it in earnest, they will give up at the first cannon-shot fired at them.

GYLLENKROK. That seems to me improbable. I rather believe that the Russians will defend themselves to the last. I see that your Majesty's infantry will be ruined.

CHARLES. We shall not need to use our infantry, but will use Mazeppa's Zaporavians.[1]

GYLLENKROK. I beg your Majesty, for God's sake, to reflect whether it is possible for such works to be carried on by a people that never have put their hands to such things; by men with whom no one can talk without an interpreter, and who will immediately run away if the work is difficult and they see their comrades fall.

[1] Cossacks.

CHARLES. I assure you that the Zaporavians will do everything that we wish, and that they will not run away, for we are ready to pay them well for their work.

GYLLENKROK. But even if the Zaporavians allow themselves to be used for the work, your Majesty has no cannon which can make a breach in the palisades.

CHARLES. If you can shoot one down you can shoot a hundred down.

GYLLENKROK. I am also of that opinion, but I fear that when a hundred are shot down we shall have no more ammunition.

CHARLES. You must not paint the thing so black. You are accustomed to sieges abroad, and consider such an undertaking impossible if you have not everything. But we must do with our little means what others do with great.

GYLLENKROK. I should be inexcusable if I made unnecessary difficulties, but I know that nothing is to be done with our cannon, and that therefore at last it will be the duty of the infantry to take the fortress, in doing which they will be entirely destroyed.

CHARLES. I assure you no storm will be necessary.

GYLLENKROK. But I do not understand how the town can be taken, unless perhaps some extraordinary piece of good luck favours us.

CHARLES (*laughing*). Yes; we must do exactly what is extraordinary; by that we will get fame and glory.

GYLLENKROK. Yes. God knows that this is an extraordinary undertaking, but I fear that it will also have an extraordinary end.

CHARLES. Make now all the preparations necessary, then you will see how soon all will be finished.

CHARLES TO PIPER. Even if the good God should send down an angel from heaven to tell me to give up Poltáva I would still remain standing here.

REHNSKJÖLD TO GYLLENKROK. The King wishes to have a little amusement till the Poles come.

GYLLENKROK TO REHNSKJÖLD. It is a costly pastime,

which demands such a number of human lives. The king could find some better employment.

REHNSKJÖLD TO GYLLENKROK. If his Majesty's will is so, we must be content with it.

GYLLENKROK TO CHARLES. I know that the world judges every undertaking according to the result, and everybody will believe that it was I that advised your Majesty to make this siege. If it should miscarry, I humbly beg you not to put the blame of it on mé.

CHARLES TO GYLLENKROK. No, you are not to blame for it. We take the responsibility on ourselves, but you can be sure that the affair will have a speedy and lucky end.

(ii) CHARLES XII TO THE COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE IN STOCKHOLM, 11 JULY, 1709

The disaster at Poltáva on June 28 had been followed by the capitulation of the main Swedish army, 14,000 strong, on July 1. The wounded and exhausted King fled into Turkey and writes from 'Ossuw' (Ochakov) near the Black Sea.

SOURCE—Facsimile of (Swedish) draft, much corrected by the King, in Hildebrand, VII, p. 312.

IT is a long time since we had news from Sweden, or could find a chance to write from here. In the meantime our position was good, and all went well, so that we could expect soon to regain such a superiority over the enemy as to work our will with him. But on the 28th of last month, by an unlucky chance, the Swedish troops were beaten in a battle, not at all by reason of the enemy's fighting-skill or numbers, for at first he was everywhere driven back, but his position was so strong as to cause loss to the Swedes, who, despite all the enemy's advantages, were so keen to fight that they attacked and pursued him everywhere; whence it came about that most of the foot were lost and even the horse suffered a great disaster. The loss is full great, but we are thinking out plans for preventing the enemy from gaining the superiority or even the smallest profit. [Gives orders for comprehensive recruiting, and for the strictest custody of Russian prisoners with a view to exchange.]

(c) THE DECLINE OF POLAND

120. POLAND IN 1697

The history and condition of the Poland to which the Saxon house gave a new dynasty (1697–1764) *were explained by an Irish doctor in a series of 'letters to persons of quality' published in the following year. Of the extracts which follow* (i) *shows the famous Partitions* (1772–95) *as the climax of a long process, which had in fact produced an actual partition in* 1655; (ii) *recalls the Danish revolution of* 1660, *whereby the weakest monarchy in Europe suddenly became the strongest.*

SOURCES—(i) Connor, I, pp. 213–215. (ii) Connor, II, pp. 26–28.

(i) THE RISE AND FALL OF POLAND

THE King of Poland's Dominions are divided into two different States, which are the Kingdom of Poland, and the Great Duchy of Lithuania. The constitutions, language, customs and genius of both which nations are as different as those of England and Scotland, except that one Parliament or Diet serves both, which must nevertheless have one session in Lithuania to two in Poland, and the Senators and Deputies of each nation must meet together, as well in the Great Duchy, as in the Kingdom; for no law can be legally made without the mutual consent of both. . . .

Poland, when first founded by Lechus in the year 550, like all other nations in their minority, was but a small tract of land, in respect of what it afterwards grew to be: for at first it contained only High and Low Poland and Silesia; but in process of time, either through marriages or conquests, it became the largest and most powerful kingdom in Europe, and raised as well the envy as jealousy of its neighbours.

The Poles, in process of time, grew so exorbitantly powerful, from the XIIIth, to the middle of the XVIIth century, having in their possession all the lands between Austria, Moscovy, and the Baltic and Euxine seas, that they gave their neighbours the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, Swedes, and Germans, just reason to grow jealous of them. Whereupon these several potentates, at different times, made most bloody wars upon them, till by degrees they had

brought their territories to a narrower compass, and made themselves masters of the greater part of them. For the Emperor got from them the several countries of Hungary, Bohemia, Transylvania, Silesia and Moravia. Valachia and Moldavia now choose Hospodars or governors of their own, though they are nevertheless tributary to the Turks.

The Turks and Tartars are masters of Podolia, and the best part of Ukraina ; and the Muscovites conquered the other part of it, Kiovia, as likewisé all the vast Duchies of Severia, Smolensko, and Czernicovia. The king of Sweden also is now in possession of all Livonia, except the duchy of Curland, which is left still tributary to Poland. Ducal Prussia is entirely in the Elector of Brandenburg's hands, of which he is of late an Independent Sovereign. Pomerania is now possessed by the Swedes and Germans between them, and Dantzic is in the nature of a little republic or Hans-town, yet under the protection of Poland.

Thus your Lordship may observe, that the neighbouring Princes have clipped so close the skirts of this vast empire, that they have reduced it to one-third of what it has heretofore been. Yet notwithstanding all these losses, it is still reckoned to the full as large as the kingdom of France ; but its frontiers towards Tartary are altogether desolate, most of the inhabitants having been carried away into captivity either by the Turks or Tartars.

(ii) Monarchy in Poland

The only way for a king of Poland to continue the crown in his family, is to be warlike ; to enlarge his dominions ; to gain the love and affections of his people by his own merits, and by the favour of the clergy ; to send his children early to the wars to get credit and reputation in the army ; to spend liberally all his revenues, and to die in debt, to the end that the Poles may be inclined to elect his son, to enable him to pay what his father owed. But all this while he must never think to encroach on the privileges of the nation, nor endeavour by any means to render the

crown hereditary; for whenever the Poles begin to smell out any such private design, they are presently apt to stir up seditious tumults, which would prove very pernicious to all the posterity of that king, as the ill success the late king's sons have had sufficiently demonstrates.

It is altogether impossible for a king of Poland, in imitation of the king of Denmark, to reduce his subjects under an arbitrary power; for the state of Denmark was quite different then from what that of Poland is now. In Denmark the king, clergy and commonalty were under the rule and government of the gentry, so that it was the interest of the clergy and commonalty to side with the king, to abate and depress the excessive powers and privileges of the nobility; which they soon effected, by being resolute and more in number. But in Poland it is quite otherwise; for there, the clergy and gentry have a common interest, to keep the king and people in subjection. The clergy have great privileges and are very rich. The bishops for the most part are Princes or Dukes; they are all senators, and sit in the Diet before all the temporal Lords; so that by the great authority and veneration which they have procured to themselves from the slavish people, they can hinder them from making any insurrection; and by the arbitrary and free power which they and the gentry have hitherto maintained, to elect whom they pleased for king; they will always keep him in such a dependence for the sake of his children, that he shall hardly ever be able to effect any design upon their prerogatives.

XI

COMMERCE AND COLONIZATION

121. PIZARRO AND PERU, 1527

In the Spanish conquest of America, which formed one of the chief factors in the history of Europe, an outstanding landmark was the heroic resolution of Pizarro in 1527. After long suffering, his small band welcomed a relief expedition of two ships with orders to bring them back to Panamá. But Pizarro drew a line in the sand with his sword and appealed to those who were determined to be great. Sixteen stood by him and the realm of the Incas fell.

SOURCE—Garcilasso de la Vega, cit. Winsor, II, p. 510.

GENTLEMEN! This line signifies labour, hunger, thirst, fatigue, wounds, sickness, and every other kind of danger that must be encountered in this conquest until life is ended. Let those who have the courage to meet and overcome the dangers of this heroic achievement cross the line, in token of their resolution, and as a testimony that they will be my faithful companions. And let those who feel unworthy, return to Panamá, for I do not wish to put force upon any man. I trust in God that, for his greater honour and glory, his Eternal Majesty will help those who remain with me, though they be few, and that we shall not miss those who forsake us.

122. HAWKINS THROUGH SPANISH EYES, 1569

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, pp. 8, 9.

Seville, 21 January, 1569.

SOME English letters have arrived from Vigo in Galicia, which say that in the past year an Englishman set out from

England with eight well-found ships, and sailed to Guinea, in the sea-territory of the king of Portugal. After he had exchanged his goods for 1,500 negroes, he made his way with these to New Spain. To do this without opposition and at his pleasure, he occupied San Juan de Lua, a small island near to Vera Cruz, where the Spanish fleet always used to load and unload, which island the Spanish fleets always had to pass. There he barred the passage with ships and guns, so that the Spanish fleet of thirty ships, which arrived there soon after him, could not enter the harbour of Vera Cruz without his permission. The Spanish general had therefore to covenant with the cunning Englishman that the latter could freely sell his negroes and depart with the purchase-money. An agreement was drawn up to this effect, and twelve hostages given on either side. A few days after the Spanish general had entered into the harbour of Vera Cruz, he broke the agreement, either because he considered it inequitable, or in anger at the high-handed manner of the Englishman,—not publicly with words, but secretly with deeds. At his instigation seven old ships were covertly set on fire, and towed or driven out of the harbour in amongst the English ships. In this way it was hoped to burn all the English ships and their leaders were thereby burnt. However when the Englishman saw this and observed the treachery, he grew wroth and set about the Spanish fleet with the rest of his ships with such violence that he sank four of them. But as his own ships had taken not a little hurt, he hurried homewards, taking the twelve Spanish hostages with him.

123. ENGLAND AND HOLLAND CAPTURE THE TRADE OF THE WORLD, 1600

SOURCE—*F.Z.*, p. 222.

Antwerp, 2nd July, 1600.

FROM Holland and Zealand it is written that four more ships from the East Indies and others from the West Indies have arrived at Plymouth in England, heavily laden with

rich spices. They have brought in all ninety loads of pepper, which is valued at fully £324,000. In addition cloves and cinnamon. Besides this nine similar ships are expected in Zealand, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The cargo of the two ships arrived lately from the Moluccas amounts to 620,000 pounds of nutmeg, 65,000 pounds of mace, 35,000 pounds of cloves, 700 pounds of pepper, which is altogether valued at 230,000 Flemish pounds. On the other hand these two ships have taken away 300,000 Flemish pounds in gold bars. Also six ships are due to sail again for the East Indies, four from the Old Company and two from the New. This voyage is thus becoming quite common, and very harmful to the Spaniards, because voyages in Portuguese and Spanish territory are decided upon in Holland and Zealand. From Emden comes news that a ship has arrived there from Pernambucco in Brazil, whose crew say that the fleet of the States General [Dutch] have taken two castles in Brazil with seven ships, then sailed to the town and seized seven to eight thousand chests of sugar.

124. THE *MAYFLOWER* COMPACT, NOVEMBER 1620

SOURCE—Reich, p. 689.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitu-

tions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod the 11 of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Dom. 1620.

125. ESTIMATE FOR A VOYAGE, *c.* 1620

'Captain John Smith, sometime Governor in those countries and Admiral of New England', includes in his 'general history of Virginia New England and the Summer Isles from the first beginning 1584 *to this present* 1624*' an estimate which throws light on the cost of colonization and on seafaring generally.*

SOURCE—Pinkerton, p. 250.

The charge of setting forth a ship of one hundred tons with forty persons, both to make a fishing voyage and increase the plantation.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, 10,000 weight of biscuit, at 15*s.* a cwt.	82	10	0
26 Tuns of beer and cider, at 53*s.* 4*d.* a tun	69	7	0
2 Hogsheads of English beef	10	0	0
2 Hogsheads of Irish beef	5	0	0
10 Fat hogs, salted with salt, and casks	10	10	0
30 Bushels of peas	6	0	0
2 Firkins of butter	3	0	0
200 Weight of cheese	2	10	0
1 bushel of mustard	0	6	0
1 Hogshead of vinegar	1	5	0
Wood to dress meat withal	1	0	0
1 Great copper kettle	2	0	0
2 small kettles	2	0	0
2 Frying-pans	0	3	4
Platters, ladles and cans	1	0	0
Carried forward	£196	11	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	196	11	4
A pair of bellows for the cook	0	2	6
Taps, borers and funnels	0	2	0
Locks for the bread-rooms	0	2	6
100 Weight of candles	2	10	0
130 quarters of salt, at 2*s.* the bushel	10	4	0
			[*sic* £104]
Mats, and dinnage to lie under it	2	10	0
Salt shovels	0	10	0
Particulars for the 40 persons to keep 8 fishing boats at sea, with 3 men in every boat, employs 24, and 500 feet of elm-boards of an inch thick, 8*s.* each one	2	0	0
2,000 Nails for the 8 boats, at 13*s.* 4*d.* a 1,000	1	6	8
4,000 Nails, at 6*s.* 8*d.* a 1,000	1	6	8
2,000 Nails, at 5*d.* a 100	0	8	0
500 weight of pitch, at 8*s.* a 100	2	0	0
2,000 of good orlop nails	2	5	0
More for other small necessaries	3	0	0
A barrel of tar	0	10	0
200 Weight of black oakum	1	0	0
Thrums for pitch maps	0	1	6
Bowls, buckets, and pumps	1	0	0
2 Brazen cocks	2	0	0
Canvas to make boat-sails, and small ropes, at 25*s.* for each sail	12	10	0
10 rod ropes, which contain 600 weights, at 30*s.* the 100	10	0	0
12 dozen of fishing-lines	6	0	0
24 dozen of fishing-hooks	2	0	0
For squid line	0	3	0
For pots and liver maunds	0	18	0
Iron works for the boats' rudders	2	0	0
10 Kipnet irons	0	10	0
Carried forward	£263	11	2

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward . . .	263	11	2
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks	0	6	0
10 good nets, at 26s. a net . . .	13	0	0
2 Saynes a great and a less . . .	12	0	0
200 weight of sow-lead	1	0	0
2 Couple of ropes for the seans . .	1	0	0
Dry-fats to keep them in . . .	0	6	0
Twine for store	0	5	0
Flaskets and bread-flaskets . . .	0	15	0
For hair cloth	10	0	0
3 Tuns of vinegar cask, for water . .	1	6	8
1 Dozen of deal boards	0	10	0
2 barrels of oatmeal	1	6	0
100 Weight of spikes	2	5	0
2 Good axes, 4 hand-hatchets, 4 drawers, 2 drawing-irons	0	16	0
3 Yards of woollen cloth for cuffs . .	0	10	0
8 Yards of good canvas	0	10	0
A Grindstone or two	0	6	0
2,000 of poor-john to spend in going . .	6	10	0
1 Hogshead of aqua vitae . . .	4	0	0
4 Arm-saws, 4 hand-saws, 4 thwart saws, 3 augers, 2 crows of iron, 3 sledges, 4 shod shovels, 2 pick-axes, 4 mattocks, and 4 hammers	5	0	0
The total sum is	£420	11	0 [*sic*]

126. NAVIGATION ACT, 9 OCTOBER, 1651

Source—Gardiner, p. 469.

For the increase of the shipping and the encouragement of the navigation of this nation, which . . . is so great a means of the welfare and safety of this Commonwealth: be it enacted . . . that . . . no goods or commodities whatsoever of the growth, production or manufacture of Asia, Africa or America, or of any part thereof; or of any

islands belonging to them, or which are described or laid down in the usual maps or cards of those places, as well of the English plantations as others, shall be imported or brought into this Commonwealth of England, or into Ireland, or any other lands, islands, plantations, or territories to this Commonwealth belonging, or in their possession, in any other . . . vessels whatsoever, but only in such as do . . . belong only to the people of this Commonwealth, or the plantation thereof, . . . and whereof the master and mariners are also for the most part of them of the people of this Commonwealth. . . .

And it is further enacted . . . that no goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, or of any part thereof, shall be imported or brought into this Commonwealth . . . in any . . . vessels whatsoever, but in such as do . . . belong only to the people of this Commonwealth . . . and in no other, except only such foreign ships and vessels as do truly and properly belong to the people of that country or place, of which the said goods are the growth, production, or manufacture; or to such ports where the said goods can only be, or most usually are first shipped for transportation. . . .

And it is further enacted . . . that no goods or commodities that are of foreign growth, etc., and which are to be brought into this Commonwealth in shipping belonging to the people thereof, shall be by them shipped or brought from any other . . . places . . ., but only from those of their said growth, etc., or from those ports where the said goods and commodities can only, or are, or usually have been first shipped for transportation. . . .

[Fish, salt-fish, fish-oil, whale-fins and bones are to be imported under the same conditions; and the first two may only be exported in vessels belonging to the people of the Commonwealth.

Exceptions. 1. The act does not apply to the importation of the commodities of the W. Mediterranean or the Levant seas, 'laden in the shipping of this nation as aforesaid at the usual ports or places for lading of them hereto-

fore ' within those seas ' though the commodities be not of the very growth of the said places '.

2. The above is applied to East Indian commodities.

3. Ships of the Commonwealth, as defined, may import from Spain and Portugal goods or commodities from their respective dominions and plantations.

4. Bullion and goods taken by way of reprisal are exempt.

The coasting trade is prohibited to ' strangers or strangers born (unless such be denizens or naturalized) '.]

127. TRADE IN THE AGE OF COLBERT

The movement of trade in the later seventeenth century and the current principles of policy are compendiously illustrated in extracts (i) and (ii). Besides fisheries and trade with our own plantations, we retained ' a good part of the Turkey, Italian, Spanish and Portugal trades ' by reason chiefly of our production of wool, fuel, food, lead and tin, our great consumption of Spanish wine, fruit and Levant oils, and our Act of Navigation.

SOURCE—Child : Preface.

(i) WAGES AND COMPETITION

1st. THE Dutch, with whom we principally contend in trade, give generally more wages to all their manufacturers by at least twopence in the shilling, than the English.

2dly. Wherever wages are high, universally throughout the whole world it is an infallible evidence of the riches of that country : and wherever wages for labour runs low, it is a proof of the poverty of that place.

3dly. It is multitudes of people, and good laws, such as cause an increase of people, which principally enrich any country ; and if we retrench by law the labour of our people, we drive them from us to other countries that give better rates, and so the Dutch have drained us of our seamen and woollen manufacturers ; and we, the French of their artificers and silk-manufacturers, and of many more we should if our laws otherwise gave them fitting encouragement. . . .

4thly. If any particular trades exact more here than in Holland, they are only such as do it by virtue of incorpora-

tions, privileges and charters, whereof the cure is easy by an act of naturalization, and without compulsitory [*sic*] laws. It is true our great-grand-fathers did exercise such a policy of endeavouring to retrench the price of labour by a law (although they could never effect it) but that was before trade was introduced into this kingdom; we are since, with the rest of the trading world, grown wiser in this matter, and I hope shall so continue. . . .

(ii) Of Trades Lost

1. The Russia trade, where the Dutch had last year 22 Sail of great ships, and the English but one, whereas formerly we had more of that trade then the Dutch.

2. The Greenland trade, where the Dutch and Hamburgers have yearly at least 4 or 500 Sail of ships, and the English but one the last year, and none the former.

3. The great trade of salt from . . . Portugal, and from France, with salt, wine and brandy to the east-lands.

4. All that vast and notorious trade of fishing for white-herrings, upon our own coast.

5. The east country [1] trade, in which we have not half so much to do as we had formerly, and the Dutch ten times more than they had in times past.

6. A very great part of our trade for Spanish wools from Bilbao. These trades and some more I could name, the Dutch interest of 3 per cent., and narrow limited companies in England, have beat us out of.

7. The East India trade for nutmegs, cloves and mace, (an extraordinary profitable trade) the Dutch arms and sleights have beat us out of; but their lower interest gave strength to their arms, and acuteness to their invention.

8. Their great trade for China and Japan, (whereof we have no share) is an effect of their low interest, those trades not being to be obtained but by a long process, and great disbursements, destitute of present, but with expectation of future gain, which 6 per cent. cannot bear.

9. The trades of Scotland and Ireland, two of our king-

[1] Baltic.

doms, the Dutch have bereaved us of, and in effect wholly engrossed to themselves; which their low interest hath been the principal engine. . . .

10. The trade of Norway is in great part lost to the Danes, Holsteners etc. by reason of some clauses in the Act of Navigation. . . .

11. A very great part of the French trade for exportation is lost, by reason of great impositions laid there upon our draperies.

12. A great part of the Plate trade from Cadiz is lost to the Dutch, who by reason of the lowness of their interest, can afford to let their stocks lie beforehand at Civil and Cadiz, against the arrival of the Spanish flota [1] who sometimes are expected, 3, 6, 9 and 12 months before they come, especially since the late interruptions that our Jamaica capers [2] have given them; by which means they engross the greatest part of the silver, whereas we, in regard our stocks run at higher interest, cannot afford to keep them so long dead. It is true, the English have yet a share in this trade, by reason of some after recited natural advantages, viz. Woollen manufactures, tin, lead, fish, etc., inseparably annexed by God's providence to this kingdom. It is true likewise, that the Peace at Munster [3] hath much furthered the Dutch in that affair; but as true it is, that their lower interest hath enabled them to make a much greater improvement and advantage in trade by that peace, than ever they could otherwise have done.

13. The trade of Surinam, since the Dutch got possession of that country in the late war, is so totally lost to the English, that we have now no more commerce with that country, than we should have if it were sunk in the sea; so severe and exact are the Hollanders, in keeping the trades of their own plantations entirely to their own people.

14. The trade of Menades or New York, we should have gained instead of the former, since we got possession of that

[1] Annual Government fleet of Spain bringing goods from Central American *depôt*.

[2] Privateers.

[3] 1648.

place in the late war, if the Dutch had not been connived at therein at first, which now I hope they are not; for if they should be, it would not only be to the entire loss of that trade to England, but greatly to the prejudice of the English trade to Virginia, because the Dutch, under pretence of trading to and from New York, carry great quantities of Virginia tobacco directly for Holland.

15. The English trade to Guinea I fear is much declined, by reason that company have met with discouragements from some of our neighbours.

Note, That most of the aforementioned trades are the greatest trades in the world, for the employment of shipping and sea-men.

128. A DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, 1684

SOURCE—Baron Lahontan's *Travels in Canada*, Letter 2, 2 May, 1684. Pinkerton, XIII.

THE boors of those manors live with more ease and conveniency than an infinity of the gentlemen in France. I am out indeed in calling them boors, for that name is as little known here as in Spain; whether it be that they pay no taxes, and enjoy the liberty of hunting and fishing, or that the easiness of their life puts them upon a level with the nobility. The poorest of them have four arpents [1] of ground in front, and thirty or forty in depth: the whole country being a continued forest of lofty trees, the stumps of which must be grubbed up before they can make use of a plough. It is true this is a troublesome and chargeable task at first; but in a short time after they make up their losses; for when the virgin ground is capable of receiving seed, it yields an increase to the rate of an hundred fold. Corn is there sown in May and reaped about the middle of September. Instead of threshing the sheaves in the field, they convey them to barns, where they lie till the coldest season of the winter, at which time the grain is more easily dis-

[1] Arpent = 1–1½ acres.

engaged from the ear. In this country they likewise sow peas, which are much esteemed in France. All sorts of grain are very cheap here, as well as butcher's meat and fowl. The price of wood is almost nothing, in comparison with the charge of its carriage, which after all is very inconsiderable.

Most of the inhabitants are a free sort of people that removed hither from France, and brought with them but little money to set up withal; the rest are those who were soldiers about thirty or forty years ago, at which time the regiment of Carignan was broke, and they exchanged a military post for the trade of agriculture. Neither the one nor the other paid anything for the grounds they possess, no more than the officers of these troops, who marked out to themselves certain portions of unmanured and woody lands; for this vast continent is nothing else than one continued forest. The governors-general allowed the officers three or four leagues of ground in front, with as much depth as they pleased; and at the same time the officers gave the soldiers as much ground as they pleased, upon the condition of the payment of a crown per arpent, by way of fief. . . .

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